

Defect tracts respecting dissenters should be printed in one volume they are all interesting.

State of the parties. 1712. 8vo.

Against occasional conformity. 2 tracts. 4to. 1706

Shortskewy with dissenters

A brief explanation of a late pamphlet. 7m tracts 1704

The repentment. 4to. 1705.

The dissenters answer to the high church challenge. tracts 8.

Alas short ways with the dissenters. tracts 8.

Dissenters misrepresented and misrepresented tracts 8.

Offering to delaminate, or a new dispute in the City

of Bristol. 12mo. Quaker Cat. 32m. 1827. 946

(I have since purchased the latter book: it is undeniably not by Deft, but by a man far inferior to him in talent, and differing from him in some points.

Evidently a separatist. I suspect James Barry was the author.)

Memoirs of the Church of Scotland. 4 parts 8. 1717

Essay on the history of parties and persecutions 8vo 1711

Conduct of persecution England 8. 1712.

Dissenters undivided, short view of state of party 8. 1707

This is an admirable work of Deft. - he can make even the history of dissent interesting. The manuscript indices to this copy are well drawn up. He goes to his parties the apparent reality of facts, and to his facts the interest of parties.

England. [App. - H. & P. - 11]

1141. v 23



Joseph Wontner THE
May 1842

Present State

OF THE

PARTIES

IN *Charles Nic Davies*
1821

Great Britain:

PARTICULARLY

An Enquiry into the State of the
Dissenters in ENGLAND,

AND THE *David Sykes*

Presbyterians in SCOTLAND; their
Religious and Politick Interest consider'd, as it
respects their Circumstances before and since
the late Acts against Occasional Conformity
in ENGLAND; and for Tolleration of
Common-Prayer in SCOTLAND.

*Inquisitionem in Belgio ad Constituendam cum status est
Albanus, Horror Belgarum animos summus Corripuit;
Diffidentia tamen et instabilitas omnes Modos consilii sa-
lutis sua impedit: Sed post Clades infelices Belli; Furo-
rem Populi, primariorumque Dissentionem, Federata Pro-
vincia mutuo vivere et Mori intenzi, Religionis Defen-
sione Libertatis, quadraginta annis in Hispania Regem
bella gerebant: Furor donec inimicorum, (Deo fa-
vente) commodum invertebatur, et quod perderes in
aterna Constitutione Pinitum est.*

London Printed, and Sold by J. Baker in Pater-
Noster-Row, 1712. Price Five Shillings.

THE
Present State
OF THE
PARTIES

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An Enquiry into the State of the
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AND THE
Presbyterians in SCOTLAND; their
Religious and Political Condition, as it
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the late Acts of the Scottish
in ENGLAND, and for Dissenters of
Common-Prayer in SCOTLAND.



in Belgium and Switzerland, and in the
Austrian, Prussian, and Russian Empires;
Dissenters are not only excluded from the
civil and political rights, but are also
subjected to various other oppressive
measures, which tend to increase their
poverty and distress. In the Prussian
Kingdom, for instance, they are excluded
from the civil service, and from all
public offices. In the Austrian Empire,
they are subjected to various other
oppressive measures, which tend to
increase their poverty and distress.

London: Printed, and sold by J. Bate, in Pall-mall.
MDCCLXXII.



THE PREFACE.



THE Greatest, if not the only Effectual Service that can be done a People under the Prepossession of Popular Mistakes, is to set before them in a Clear Light, a True and Impartial State of their own Circumstances.

The only Reason why this is so seldom done, is from the natural Aversion Man have to bear of their Mistakes, and that general Discouragement which Authors that honestly undertake this Work meet with from the People they so faithfully serve.

If this Humour continues on one Side, or that partial Temper on the other, this Book will have few Friends, nor will the Author be disappointed in it; he cannot be suppos'd so ignorant as not to know that every Party who find their Errors reprov'd, however they are convinced of the Truth of the Remark, will be displeas'd with the Hand that seems to

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uncover the Nakedness they would rather
hide than reform.

This Error, however, is no less necessary
to be cur'd than the Mistakes themselves;
for the resolv'd Way we take of Cherishing
our Follies, and Resisting the Conviction of
our Reason, as also of Rejecting the Attempts
made by others; to Convince our Reason, is
the most fatal Error of the Time, as it locks
up our Vice from the Reach of the wisest
Animadversion.

The Author of this has, however, ventur'd
thro' all these Barricadoes, and the Fortifi-
cations of Popular Resentment, and has made
the whole Work an Essay at a Friendly Re-
proof to those whose Reformation he wishes,
not their Destruction. There is not a Word
in the whole Work that looks Satyrical, but
it is either pointed at those who are so far
from being curable by common Methods, that
they are grown harden'd enough to boast of
their Mistakes, or to those whose Partiality to
themselves renders all other Ways effectual.

Satyr, like Incision, becomes necessary when
the Humour rankles, and the Wound threat-
ens Mortification: When Advice ceases to
work; when loss, Experience, and Disaster, will
not convince, Satyr, then reforms by making
the Error we embrace ridiculous, Shame
works

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works to make us forsake a Thing which Instruction, Argument, or Perswasion could have no Effect upon.

This respects that Part of the following Tract which points at the Dissenters, as to the Breeding up, Management of, and Behaviour towards their Ministers. If any plausible Objection lies against this, it seems to be what the Author foresees from some Well-wishers, who, tho' Owning the Fact, cry out, These are unhappy Truths, but it is Pity they should be told, it is Pity the Folly of the Dissenters should be made so Publick. To which the Answer is very plain and short.

It is Pity there should be a Necessity for making it so publick. These Sheets have been written above Eight Years, and the Author in Hopes that, first or last, the Dissenters would see their Impending Ruin, and remove the unhappy Cause, has waited and forbore to speak in this Dilect to them; he has, on many Occasions, seriously, tho' privately, represented the Case to many of the most eminent among the Dissenters,, whom he has always found Lamenting the Distemper, but Despairing of the Cure: He now finds the Circumstances of the Dissenters come to a Crisis, they must take new Measures, or sink under the Feet of their Enemies; and he is convinc'd

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convinc'd now is the Time when they ought to be alarm'd, if any Thing will do it.

As to the Plainness and Courseness of the Manner, he makes no Apology for it. Let them that hate them, and wish their Destruction, flatter and cajole them in their Follies, to let them sleep on till they fall in the Ruin of their own Negligence. He that loves their Interest, will speak plain Truth to them, whether it pleases them or no.

The Enemies of the Dissenters who wait for their Fall, cry, Let them alone; thus we would have it; he that would save them from Ruin, must tell them whither they are Running, and if they will not hear, they will have the more to reproach themselves with hereafter, when they remember that they have been told of it.

I am verily perswaded no other Objection can be rais'd against the following Sheets. I grant the Seasonableness of a Reproof is the Essence of the Instructive Part; the present Case has so many visible Tokens of Necessity, that I cannot but think it Seasonable and Necessary: If any are of another Opinion, I would be glad to hear them propose some other Method which has not been try'd, by which the good People might be made sensible of their Error, and brought to correct
and

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and reform it. As to those who neither like my Remedies, and yet propose none of their own, this Discourse is not directed to them, nor do they merit any Regard.

Now is the Time for the Dissenters to enter upon new Measures; now is the Time for them to set to Work, to rectify their former Mistakes,; their Enemies are powerful; pretended Friends have proved False, and have betray'd them, to the Overtthrow of their Civil Interest. But if they can be perswaded to erect upon solid Foundations, a Firm and Lasting Scheme of a Religious Oeconomy, the Building that shall grow up shall be such as shall make them invincible on one Side, and Formidable on the other. Now is the Time for them to stand upon their own Legs, and be truly Independent; in which, by a steady and faithful Adhering to God and his Cause, and Espousing heartily all that do so, they will soon find their Circumstances recover, and the Figure they make differ from any Thing they ever made before: Their Religious Liberties will stand upon a better Basis than ever, and they will be in a better Condition to support their Civil Liberties also.

If they are still blinded by the same Delusions; if their Illumination is not yet to be brought to pass, no not by their Disasters, it

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is a sad Sign that their Sufferings are not yet at an End.

The rest of this Book being rather Historical than Matter of Observation, the Author thinks it requires no Apology or Introduction, but refers the Reader to his own Memory for many of the Particulars, the Story being too Modern, to need any other Authority for the Truth of it.



If they are still blinded by the same Delusion; if their Illumination is not yet to be brought to pass, no man can be of any use to them.

THE



THE STATE, &c.

CHAP. I.

*The General Introduction, and Platform
of the whole Work; being a Scheme
of the PARTIES.*

This is not a Precept the most easily understood of any in the Bible, which the Blessed Apostle St. Paul has left upon Record, in the Book of God. *Rom. xii. 3. To Think Soberly.* The whole Text may be useful to begin our Discourse with, as a Thing, the want of which is the Destruction and Ruin of Mankind, whether in his single or complicated Circumstance, and is abundantly so, in our Day, to the several

B

Parties

Parties which, at this Time, divide this Unhappy Nation; the whole Words are these,

To every Man among you, not to Think of himself more highly than he ought to Think, but **TO THINK SOBERLY, &c.**

To the breach of this Rule, I take leave to say, We owe much of the Evil of *Division*, and especially the Breach of *Charity* that spreads Over this Nation; and no Man can do a greater piece of Service to the People, on both Sides, than to Instruct them how to *think of themselves*.

In pursuit of this Work, tho' the Scheme may be Long, yet it is evident that the Subject is so Large, and the Extent of it so Great, that it will be requisite to study as much Brevity as possible.

The Business of these Sheets is Comprehended in these few Words, an Endeavour to give a clear View, to every Party, of the True State of their Circumstances, as they respect themselves, and as they respect one another, that if such a Thing be yet remaining in the Nature of Man, they may learn to *think of themselves*, and of one another, as *they ought to think*. — The chief Design is, to Examine the State of the *Dissenting Interest*, which I shall do Historically, and join with it due Observations; and as the
Interests,

Interests, Originals, and Views of the other Parties, will necessarily come in the Way to be treated in order to make the Story coherent, and to bring the Parts to consist with each other, and all with the general Plan. We shall, as Episodes to the Plan of the Work, lead the Reader into most of the considerable Circumstances of our present divided State in this Nation.

In order to a clear Understanding of Things as we go, it will be necessary to enter a little into the Consideration of two general Heads.

1. To give you a general View of the present State of the Nation, as to Parties, and as to the Division those Parties have now brought us to.

2. To bring up those Parties from their Original, and consider their separate Circumstances.

After this it may be more to the Purpose to fix upon the especial Head which this Book is design'd to Treat of, viz. that Party, or Body of Men among us, who we call *Dissenters*, and the State of their Circumstances Past, Present, and in Prospect.

The present State of the Nation may most perfectly and clearly be understood, without

any search into Antiquity, other than by looking back to the *Late Revolution*: The *Errors* of *Past Reigns*, the *Rancour* of the *Civil-War*, the *Fury* of the *Restoration*, the *Intrigues* of King *Charles II.* and the *Jebu Drivings* of King *James II.* all had their Periods here: To repeat them a little at length.

The Rancour of the Civil-War ended here, Those Festered Wounds of the State, which had been too severely search'd into by the *Old Parliament Times*; but being too hastily skinn'd over in the Transports of the *Restoration*, began to bleed a fresh, and appear'd ready to break forth again. The *Impositions*, *Extravagancies*, *Trampling on Laws*, *Oppressing of Subjects*, *Invading Property*, *Persecuting for Conscience*, and *Suspending the Laws*, being the same as before, and the *Subject's Grievances* were founded on the same *Questions* which were disputed, and *Complaints* which were granted by the *Petition of Right*: The Years 1637 to 1641 were all acted over again in the Wicked, but more Politick Reign of *Charles II.* and the *Fury of Civil-War* it self began to revive in the Popish and Tyrannical Government of King *James II.*

But the *Revolution* heal'd all these Distempers; and the Gangreen'd Member, being Cut off from the Body, the *Amputation* left the Body, as every one thought, and expected, perfectly Sound, Healthy and Complete.

It was not the least Article of the Health of the Body Politick, that the *Seeds of Strife* which, for many Years, had been Sown among us, on Account of *Religious Matters*, seem'd to be entirely Rooted out. A general *Charity* growing up in the Place of riveted *Bitterness* and *Religious Strife*; good Men promised themselves a rich Harvest of Prosperity to the Commonwealth. The *Dissenters* had been the Handle, for many Years, by which the Politicians had taken hold of our *Properties*; and taken Advantages to introduce all the several Methods of *Arbitrary Government*. The suppressing these, as dangerous Enemies to the *State*, had been the Pretence for *Persecutions*, *Prosecutions*, *Quo-warranto's*, and all kinds of *Oppression*. These Things were carry'd to that Height, and such pernicious Use was made of the *Penal-Laws* against *Dissenters*, that they grew Odious, even to the *Church-men* themselves: Men of Charity could not see the *Dissenters* drag'd out of their Houses and Meetings to the Courts of *Justice* and the Goals fill'd with their Neighbours, of the best Credit and Trade, meerly for Worshipping God in their own Way, without Infinite dislike and regret; Men of *Liberty* and *Property* could not, without abhorrence, see the Spoil made of Men's Estates by Laws against *Popery*. These Things brought the *Moderate Church-men*, and Lovers of *Liberty*,

to espouse even the *Dissenters*, who they called *Schismaticks*, and oppose the Ravages made upon their *Estates* and *Liberties*, not for the Sake of their *Dissenting*, which they did not approve of, but for the Sake of those *Liberties* and *Priviledges* which they enjoy'd in Common with them, and which they thought themselves obliged to Preserve:— And in this Conjunction of *Churchmen* and *Dissenters*, began the Name of *Whigg*, a Word of Contempt, and fetch'd from *Scotland*, where it signify'd a People famous for their Opposition to the Encroachments of the Crown, tho', as they represented them, mingled with *Enthusiasms* and *Religious Madness*; of which more hereafter.

All this, as before, seem'd bury'd in the Toleration of *Dissenters*, granted by Parliament after the *Revolution*, Act 1. *William* and *Mary*, Cap. xviii. — and entituled, *An Act to Exempt their Majesties Protestant Subjects from the Penalty of certain Laws, &c.* — I mention the Title, because of the Dispute which follow'd in the Process of these Things against this Act, being deem'd an *Act of Toleration*, and of which I shall speak more largely in its Place.

During the Reign of King *William*, the Spirit of Jealousy, laid asleep (as I have said) by the *Revolution*, continu'd quiet, and the Differences in Religious Matters seem'd to
carry

carry no Weight in them sufficient to disturb the Government, or the Minds of the People. The King, by Principle of an extensive Charity, and profess'dly averse to all Coertion, not only forwarded the Act of *Toleration*, which, as above, was granted to *Protestant Dissenters*, but used his Endeavour to have render'd it more compleat, by Turning the Edge of the Act Establishing the Taking the *Sacrament*, as a Test of Preference, from the *Dissenters* to the *Papists* only, according to the true Original and Design both of the Law itself, and of those that made it, *but Sathan bindred*, for the King soon saw that it might be said of the Spirit of the *High-Church Party*, as it was of *Lazarus*, *That he is not Dead, but Sleepeth*; and that however suppress'd by the *Revolution*, and reduc'd to a Temper with the *Dissenters*, (for the Sake of their having assisted in the Deposing King *James*, and refusing the Caresses he made to them, in Order to draw them in to support him against them, the Church) yet that they would all take Fire again, if touch'd in this sensible Part; that they esteem'd this *Test-Act* as a Pale about the Church, and the Repealing it, as an Attempt to let in the *Dissenters* to trample it under Foot; the King, I say, finding the *Church-men* alarm'd at the very Motion, and his Majesty being not willing to lay the Foundation

dation of new Divisions, or of reviving the old Animosities, which were so happily bury'd, found himself oblig'd to drop the Thing, and desist from Declaring himself too plainly in any Affair, which must have embroil'd him with one Part of the Nation in Favour of another Part, who, however Numerous and Rich, were not able to carry him thro' it.

However, I have nam'd this as well to record the Attempt that Glorious Prince made at Rooting out the very Remains of *Persecution* among us, as to note, that this was the first Occasion on which the *High-Church-Men* shew'd, that they had not bury'd their Animosities and Aversions to the *Dissenters*; only laid them asleep 'till they might find a more proper Occasion to discover them to their Advantage.

The Steps the King took in this Matter were but few, however, they were such as testify'd both his Sense of the Faithfulness of the *Dissenters* to the Publick Interest, and the just Weight they ought to bear in the State: His Majesty had propos'd it to the Persons whom he most trusted at that Time, and had us'd some Arguments to bring over some of them to be willing, yet found many averse to it, those who appear'd willing, yet dissuaded him from the Attempt, as what would create him great Difficulties at a Time when his other Affairs requir'd a general Composure; and, in short,

short, the Generality of the Council appear'd not well inclin'd to joyn in it; yet the King's Reasons prevail'd, and it was agreed, That his Majesty should move it to the Parliament, which he did, in his Speech to Both Houses, on the 16th of *March*, 1688, immediately after the happy Settlement of the Crown; His Majesty's Words are these,

I know you are sensible there is a Necessity of some Law to settle the Oaths to be taken by all Persons, to be admitted to such Places: I recommend it to your Care to make a speedy Provision for it; and as I doubt not but you will sufficiently provide against Papists, so I hope you will leave room for the Admission of all Protestants that are able and willing to serve.

This Conjunction in my Service will tend to the better Uniting you amongst your selves, and the Strengthening you against your Common Adversaries.

But the *House of Commons*, fir'd at the Proposals, and some warm Speeches were made within Doors, as well as Reflections without Doors, all which I shall bury in this brief Hint, that the King, finding it was not a proper Time for it, prosecuted it no farther, and so it died of itself.— The War, and the various Hurries of the Time, put the Remembrance of it off, and the *Dissenters* receiv'd no Injury from the Suggestion.

But tho' the making them easy by a Law
could

could not thus be obtain'd, yet, as I noted before, throughout this King's whole Reign the *Dissenters* receiv'd all the Favour and Encouragement they could expect; they were frequently possess'd of Posts of considerable Profit and Trusts, and Commissions of all Sorts were put into their Hands. If they did conform Occasionally, as I shall have Time to enquire in the farther Prosecution of this Affair, *Well and Good*: But those who did not, found no Disadvantage in it; nor was any so forward as to prosecute the Law in that Case, knowing, that altho' the King would not have so far concern'd himself as to grant *Noli prosequi* in such Cases against a due Proceeding at Law, yet that all other Discouragements would be given to it, and the Persons marked as particularly forward to displease the Government, and oppose the healing Designs of the King.

Whether this was the Cause or no, I will not affirm; but this is certain, that no Man ever receiv'd any Disturbances of this Nature during the Reign of King *William*; and yet it might, with some Assurance, be enquir'd of any of those who are now so forward to lay the whole Weight of the *Church's* Safety upon this Act, what Injury the *Church* receiv'd by that Lenity? Or in what Particular the *Dissenters* could be said to make any Encroachment, or Invasion, upon the *Church* during that Time? On the

the contrary, I believe it may easily be demonstrated, that the Interest of the *Dissenters* many Ways lost Ground by their own Way of Improving the *Liberty* and *Ease* they enjoy'd; of which in its Place.

As to Parties: Then the Division, throughout this whole Reign, lay chiefly between the *Jacobite* and the *Williamite*: *Whigg* and *Tory*, tho' Names of too general Use among us, even then, yet signify'd little more than what they ought to signify now, (*viz.*) the *Friends* and the *Enemies* of the *Revolution*.

It is true, towards the latter End of his Majesty's Reign, a Court and Country Faction got into our Management, and great Heats, Turnings in, and Turnings out, follow'd upon it; together with several Clashings of a Party with the King about Disposing the Forfeited Estates in *Ireland*, Re-assumptions of Grants, Disbanding of Forces, and the like, in which, Matters of Religion had no Manner of Concern, and both *Dissenters* and *Church-men* were found on both Sides; only with this just Observation in Favour of *Dissenters*, that, generally Speaking, they always adher'd to the King.— They thought the Heat with which those People push'd at his Majesty for the Disposing of the Forfeited Estates unkind, because of the Merit of the Persons to whom the Grants were made; the just Claim they had to his Majesty's

Majesty's Bounty ; and the Equity of giving them their Rewards out of the Spoil of that Country they had spent so much Blood, and hazarded so much to Reduce: They thought it ungrateful that the Opposition the King made to the Disbanding the Army (which, however, was with a Kind of Submission, even to his own Subjects, a Thing unusual from the Throne) should be charg'd on the King's Principles, as if designing to Rule by an Army ; and that after all he had done to save us from *Tyranny*, that we should suggest a Design in his Majesty to *Enslave* us: Nor was the King himself altogether unconcern'd at the Attempt of that Nature, which he found went a great Way among the People, and therefore, when he came to Pass the Bill, he express'd himself, for that Purpose, in his Speech to the Parliament, in the following Words :

I Came to Pass the Bill for Disbanding the Army as soon as I understood it was ready for me.

Tho', in our present Circumstances, there appears great Hazard in breaking such a Number of the Troops ; and tho' I might think my self unkindly used, that those Guards who came over with me to your Assistance, and have constantly attended me in all the Actions wherein I have been engaged, should be removed from me, yet it is my fix'd Opinion,
That

That nothing can be so fatal to us, as, that any Distrust or Jealousie should arise between me and my People, which I must own would have been very unexpected, after what I have Undertaken, Ventured, and Acted, for the Restoring and Securing of their Liberties.

And here I cannot omit to observe, how just the Retaliations of Heaven are, even in Directing the Injustices and Ingratitudes of Men, so as that they may read their Sin in their Punishment, and those who have dealt ungratefully and unjustly by their Benefactors frequently arrive to a Time, as some are said to do now, when they fall by the Ingratitude and Injustice of those they have most effectually *Serv'd*.

In this Posture Affairs stood at the Death of that excellent Prince, and I have the rather nam'd these Things, tho' they seem a Digression, that those who look back into those Times, and compare them with the Present, may know at what Epocha to begin their Reckoning, from what Account of Time, and from what Period to date the Events which may take up so much Room in the Histories of these Times.

The King Dying about this Time, more mortally wounded with the pointed Rage of Divided Parties, and an Ungrateful People, than by the Dislocation of his Shoulder, or Collar-Bone, by the Fall from his Horse,
was

was succeeded by our Present Queen the Eighth of *March*, 170 $\frac{1}{2}$; and no sooner was Her Majesty Seated in the Throne, no sooner had She taken the Administration into Her Hands, but the Dead Monsters reviv'd, and, like *Cadmus's* Field, all the Bones of the Slaughter'd Furies stood up in Bands of Armed Men.

In an unhappy Hour the Queen, in Her Speech to Her first Parliament, at the End of the Session, express'd Herself (however, not Imagining the evil Use that would be made of it) with a True and Sincere Zeal for the *Church of England*, assuring them of Her especial Favour, and that those who were most Zealous for the said Church should have the greatest Share in Her Majesty's Concern, as follows :

I shall always wish, that no Difference of Opinion among those that are equally affected to my Service, may be the occasion of Heats and Animosities among themselves: I shall be very careful to Preserve and Maintain the Act of Toleration, and to set the Minds of all my People at quiet: My own Principle must always keep me entirely firm to the Interests and Religion of the Church of England, and will incline me to Countenance those who have the truest Zeal to support it.

It is not the first Time that this mis-interpreted

puted Word **ZEAL** has been taken in a wrong Sense in the World. And, not to digress upon the evil Consequences which, in all Ages, have attended the Mis-construction of this Word, never was it taken in a worse Sense, or apply'd to a worse Use, and more remote to the Intention of the Person Speaking it, than on this Occasion.

The Clergy, especially, taking hold of it, would neither give Leave, or Time, for any Body, no not for the Queen Herself, to make any other Explications, than such as they, for the Ends which afterwards appear'd, thought fit to make; but, making the Queen's Words speak their Meaning, they began to Open, and rais'd a most unaccountable Hurricane in the Nation, letting the *Dissenters* know that their Day was come; that their Reign was at an End; that now they had a *Church of England* Queen; and the Church would re-assume Her Dignity and Superiority; that She would no more be insulted by *Schismatics* and *Phanatics*; that Her Majesty was the True Defender of the Church; and, that She had recommended to them a Zealous Concern for the Interest of the Church; and they would not let slip the Occasion; they publickly declar'd, that Zeal for the Interest and Safety of the Church could be capable of no other Construction, but Zeal to pull down the Pride and Insolence of *Schismatics*; that the Church's Enemies

Enemies must be destroy'd, and *Faction* rooted out; and there could be no *Zeal* for the *Church*, but such as consisted in Ridding Her, for ever, of the Fears of Her Enemies; that the *Church* had no Enemies now in her View but the *Phanaticks*; that the *Papists* were sufficiently fenc'd against by the *Laws* and *Aversions* of the People to the Idolatry of the *Romish Worship*; but, that the *Presbyterians* were a *Viperous Brood*, nourish'd in our own Bowels, crept in within the Pale, and who had taken Advantage of the Circumstances of the Nation, under the late Administrations, to get a Kind of a Legal Admission, which they pretended to call an *Establishment*; that, all along, under the Shadow of this Lenity and Forbearance, they had encroach'd on the very *Essential Priviledges* of the *Church*, Sapping and Undermining the Foundation of the *Church of England*; and, that now was the Time to recover themselves when supported by a True *Church of England* Queen, Her Majesty also having invited them to it by Her most Gracious Speech, and with promises of Her Favour and Affection.

With this, they forgot not to fill the whole Nation with the most scandalous, odious, and unjust Reflections upon the Person and Government of the Deceased King, that could be devised, Representing the Nation as deliver'd from him; his Reign as
fatal

fatal to the Church, and dishonourable to the Kingdom; in Contempt of his Actions, and of his Person, they form'd two *By-Words*, or *Proverbial Speeches*, which, by the Popularity of the reigning Distemper of those Times, became *Proverbial*, and the *Shibboleth* of the Day; I forbear to mention who they obtain'd to speak that Language, in Respect to one Part, and in Pity to the other; especially now they are in a Way of like Treatment; these *By-Words* were, a *Heart entirely English*, and *Retrieving the Nation's Honour*; implying, that King *William* was not a Native, and that the Honour of the Nation had suffer'd in his Hands; but Heaven has aveng'd his Memory in both these, and therefore I take no farther Notice of it here.

This Heat and Fury of the Clergy went to that Height, that even it became ludicrous, and attended with all the little Excesses which a Person elevated beyond the Government of himself, by some suddain Joy, is usually subject to; and as a known Author remarks, That upon the Restoration of King *Charles II.* the Excesses and Transports of the Clergy and People run out into Revels, May-Poles, and all Manner of Extravagancies; so, at this time, there were more May-Poles set up in One Year, in *England*, than had been in 20 Years before; Ballads for the Church was another Expression of their Zeal, wherein, generally, the *Chorus*, or Burthen

of the Song, was, *Down with the Presbyterians*; and to such a Height were Things brought, that the *Dissenters* began to be insulted in every Place; their *Meeting-Houses* and *Assemblies* assaulted by the Mob; and even their *Ministers* and *Preachers* were scarce admitted to pass the Streets.

The Violences of the Day being but of a short Continuance, I choose to bury them as much as will consist with the Connection of the Thing, being unwilling to record more of the Folly of those Times than Necessity obliges me to: The rest may a little be guess'd at, by the famous Expression of that known Malefactor *Sacheverell*, who first made himself remarkable to the World on this Occasion, by a Sermon preach'd at *Oxford*, in which he had an Expression to this Purpose, *That he could not be a True Son of the Church of England who did not lift up the Banner of the Church against the Dissenters.*

This was the Sermon upon which an Author, till then not much known, wrote that unhappy Book called, *The shortest Way with the Dissenters.*—— In which, seeming to fall in with the Times, he urg'd, with the most pungent Reasons, and with utmost seeming Eagerness, the Absolute Necessity of Rooting out the *Dissenters* from the Nation.

The wisest *Church-men* in the Nation were deceiv'd by this Book; those whose Temper fell in with the Times hugg'd and embrac'd

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embrac'd it; applauded the Proposal; fill'd their Mouths with the Arguments made Use of therein; and an eminent *Church-man*, in the *Country*, wrote a Letter to his Friend in *London*, who had sent him the Book, in the following Words:

S I R,

I Receiv'd yours, and with it that Pamphlet which makes so much Noise, called, *The shortest Way with the Dissenters*, for which I thank you: I joyn with that Author in all he says, and have such a Value for the Book, that, next to the Holy Bible, and the Sacred Comments, I take it for the most valuable Piece I have. I pray God put it into Her Majesty's Heart to put what is there propos'd in Execution.

Yours, &c.

On the other Hand, the Soberer *Church-men*, whose Principles were founded on *Charity*, and who had their Eye upon the *Laws and Constitution* of their Country, as that to which their own *Liberties* were annex'd, tho' they still believ'd the Book to be written by a *High-Church-Man*, yet openly exclaim'd against the Proposal, condemn'd the Warmth that appear'd in the Clergy against their Brethren, and openly profess'd, that such Men as *Sackverell* and his Bre-

thren would blow up the Foundations of the *Church*.

But either Side had scarce Time to discover their Sentiments, when the Book appear'd to have been written by a *Dissenter*; that it was design'd in Derision of the Standard held up by *Sacheverell* and others; that it was a Satyr upon the Fury of the *Churchmen*, and a Plot to make the rest discover themselves; nothing was more strange than to see the Effect upon the whole Nation which this little Book, a contemptible Pamphlet of but three Sheets of Paper, had, and in so short a Time too; the most Forward, Hot, and Furious, as well among the Clergy as others, blush'd when they reflected how far they had applauded the Book; raged that such an Abuse should be put upon the *Church*; and as they were obliged to damn the Book, so they were strangely hamper'd between the doing so, and pursuing their Rage at the *Dissenters*; the greater Part, the better to qualify themselves to condemn the Author, came earnestly in to condemn the Principle; for it was impossible to do one without the other.

They labour'd Incessantly, both in *Print* and in *Pulpit*, to prove, That this was a horrible Slander upon the *Church*; but this still answer'd the Author's End the more; for they could never Clear the *Church* of the Slander, without openly Condemning the Practice;

Practice; nor could they possibly Condemn the Practice without Censuring these Clergymen, who had gone such a length already, as to say the same Thing in Print: Nor could all their Rage at the Author of that Book, contribute any thing to Clear them, but still made the Better Side the Worse. It was plain they had own'd the *Doctrine*, had preach'd up the Necessity of *Expelling*, and *Rooting Out* the *Dissenters* in their *Sermons*, and Printed; that it was evident they had applauded the Book it self, as before, till they knew the Author; and there was no other way to prevent the Odium falling on the whole Body of the *Church of England*, but by giving up the Authors of those *Mad Principles*, and openly professing *Moderate Principles* themselves.

The severe Usage of the Author encreas'd this Turn; they Fin'd him, Imprison'd him, Pillory'd him, and, indeed, Ruin'd him: But his Contempt of them, even under all his Sufferings, his *Hymn to the Pillory*, which he made in Derision of them, and publish'd the very Day they expos'd him; the Shouts of the People when he was taken down, and the General Abhorrence shown, as well by *moderate Church-men* as *Dissenters*, at the Severities used against him, all testify'd, that the whole Nation had receiv'd a New Tincture, and the furious Spirit, aforesaid, received a visible Check from this Accident, how-

ever trifling in it self. But, that the Reader may see this more plainly, by the Consequences, it is worth observing, That the Government, taking a right View of the Stream of the Peoples Affections, and Her Majesty, whose Goodness naturally dislik'd the Violence of those Spirits who were running Things to these Extreame, gave a full Turn to the popular Humour.

The Men of *Moderate Principles* about Her Majesty fell in with the Oecasion, and representing how ill a Use some People had made of Her Majesty's Words, soon convinc'd Her Majesty, that the Destruction of all Her *Dissenting Subjects* was aim'd at; which, as it was a Thought the Queen abhorr'd, so, in Her next Speech to the Parliament, Her Majesty gave a publick Testimony of Her dislike of those Things; and, on other Occasions, testify'd some wonder, that any of Her Subjects should so far mistake Her Meaning, as to take Encouragement from Her Words to widen the Breach among Her *Protestant* Subjects, which was so well closed, as to Affection and Int'rest, by the *Revolution* and the *Toleration*; which *Toleration*, Her Majesty express'd, on all Occasions, Her resolution to Maintain; and, to put the *Dissenters* out of all Pain, as to private Encroachments on it, assur'd them, in another Speech, of Her resolving to preserve the *Toleration*, with the Word *Inviolably*;
Inviting,

Inviting, and on all Occasions earnestly pressing Her Subjects to *Peace* and *Union* among themselves, as the only Way to keep them Safe; to disappoint their Enemies Abroad and at Home, and to make them a Happy People.

At the Opening the Session of Parliament for the Year 1703, Her Majesty began these Exhortations in the following Words:

I want Words to express to you my earnest Desires of seeing all my Subjects in perfect Peace and Union among themselves; I have nothing so much at Heart as their general Wellfare and Happiness; let Me, therefore, desire you all, that you would carefully avoid any Heats or Divisions that may disappoint Me of that Satisfaction, and give Encouragement to the Common Enemies of our Church and State.

Nor was this all: But as the Temper of *Moderation* prevail'd at Court, so was the Gentlemen of *Moderate Principles* encouraged, and, in a few Days, a Revolution at Court, to the general Satisfaction of the Nation, was effected, by displacing the D—— of B——— Lord R——S; the E—— of No——ham, Secretary of State; Sir *Edward Seymour*, Comptroller of the Household, and all their Adherents and Dependents; this happen'd in the Month of *April* 1704.

Some People have blam'd the Author of the aforesaid Pamphlet, called *The Shortest Way*, &c. for that he did not quote either in the Margin, or otherwise the Sermon of *Sacheverell*, aforesaid, or such other Authors from whom his Notions were drawn, which would have justify'd him in what he had suggested; but these Men do not see the Design of the Book at all, or the Effect it had on the People it pointed at: It is true, this had prevented the Fate of the Man, but it had, at the same Time, taken off the Edge of the Book, and that which now cut the Throat of a whole Party, would not then have given the least Wound. The Case the Book pointed at, was to speak in the first Person of the *Party*, and then, thereby, not only speak their Language, but make them acknowledge it to be theirs, which they did so openly, that confounded all their Attempts afterwards to deny it, and to call it a *Scandal* thrown upon them by another.

It cannot be deny'd here, without great Injustice, That the present Lord Treasure, then Mr. *Harley*, and Speaker of the *House of Commons*, was the Principal Agent in the introducing these *Moderate*, and *Healing Councils*; and in representing to Her Majesty, in behalf of the *Dissenters*, the ruinous Designs form'd by a Party of Men who would not only have involv'd Her Majesty in a Troublesome and Ungrateful Breach

Breach with so considerable a Body of Her Subjects, but would have engag'd Her in a bitter and furious *Persecution* for *Conscience sake*, both contrary to Her own Disposition, and contrary to the True Interest of Her Kingdom; and if, when Her Majesty came to be rightly inform'd of these Things, it fill'd Her with a just Indignation at the Instruments, it cannot be wonder'd at.

The happy Turn, as above, being given to Affairs, the Face of all things alter'd immediately; all the Attempts for an *Occasional-Bill* made after this, miscarry'd, and might have done so to this Day, had the Patriots of the *Dissenters* been True to their Interest.

That Bill, which was lost, the Year before, on a meer Nicety in the *House of Commons*, and their insisting on a Trifle, which they would most gladly have afterwards given up, was the next Year Oppos'd by the whole Court, and thrown Out of the House by a great Majority.

Nor did Her Majesty only come in to the moderate Schemes above, but to this Epoca is referr'd the Time when the Lord Treasurer, *Go—phin*, the Duke of *Marl—b*, the Dutcheſs, and many more, who during the whole Reign of the late King, had been on the other Side to an Extream, who were always *High-Church*, and had been counted, by some, among the *worst Enemies* the *Dissenters* had, came over, and became what from
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that Day, they were esteem'd all over the Nation, *viz.* *Whiggs*.

This, afterwards, was sum'd up against them, as a Reproach, when that unhappy Breach came in among us, which laid the Foundation of the *last Revolution* at Court: I mean, when, after the Displacing Mr. Secretary *H——ly*, the *Juncto*, or *Whigg-Lords*, set up against the *Ministry*, that is, against the Duke of *M——gh*, and the Treasurer, *Go——phin*; when the Distinction between *Old-Whigg* and *New-Whigg* was first brought upon the Stage, and the Friends of the *Juncto* threw this in the Teeth of the *Ministry* as aforesaid, *viz.* That they were only *Modern-Whiggs*; that they were not *Whiggs* from Principle, but Interest; that they were *Tories* and *High-Fliers* in their Original, and were still so in their Inclination; that they only espous'd the *Whiggs* now, as that Interest that best serv'd their Turn; that they were all brought over by Mr. *H——ly*, and would all return to their first Principles, when ever a like Occasion offer'd. But this by the by.

In the pursuit of the *Moderate Councils* which now began to Govern, as abovesaid, several Great, Happy, and Successful Steps were taken in the *Publick Affairs*, both at Home and Abroad, which, tho' they are fresh in the Memory of all that Read, or take Notice of the *Publick Affairs*, yet, as
all

all who may remember the Facts may not have observ'd the Connection between those *Successes* Abroad, and the *Measures* at Home, and how a happy Series of the First attend-ed the Wisdom, Prudence, and Unanimity of the last, it may not be amiss, with great Brevity, to review a few of the great Actions of those three or four Years, both Abroad and at Home.

The *Ministry* was no sooner out of the Hands of the *Tories*, but the Scale turn'd Abroad; the Duke of *Marlborough* seem'd to have been a little check'd in his Designs, the Year before, by the Revolt of the Duke of *Bavaria*, and found the *Confederates* not a little surpriz'd at the rapid Course of the *French* Conquests on the *Rhine* and the *Danube*. The Marshal de *Tallard* had taken *Landau*, and beaten the *Imperial* Army at the Battle of *Spierback*, the Campaign before; ruining entirely the *Hessian* and *Palatine* Troops, and was now upon the *Rhine*, with a *Royal-Army*, threatening to Ravage the Circle of *Franconia*, and the County of *Hessia*; but chiefly with a Design to Embarrass Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, and the *Imperialists*, so that they should not be able to rescue the Emperor, who, in the mean time, was threatn'd by the Elector of *Bavaria* to be attack'd, even in his Capital of *Vienna*; that Elector having already over-run *Swa-bia*; taken the *Imperial* Cities of *Ulm*,
Memmingen

Memmingen, and *Kempen*; ravag'd *Tiroll*, and taken *Passau*; and was preparing to attack *Lintz*, and then *Vienna*. In this Exigence of Affairs the Duke of *Marlborough*, by Concert with the *Dutch* and the Emperor's General, Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*, agreed to quit the Pursuit of the War in *Flanders*; leave Count *Tallard* with the *French* Army on the *Rhine* at Liberty to undertake what ever he thought fit; and with the Greatest and Best Army that has been seen in that Part of the World, perhaps ever seen, took that prodigious March into *Bavaria*, which ended in the famous Battle of *Blenheim*, *August* the 2d. 1704, taking Count *Tallard* Prisoner, and entirely Expelling the Elector of *Bavaria* out of his own Country, from whence he continues an Exile to this Day.

This was the first visible Blessing on the Arms of Her Majesty, after the happy Change of Her Affairs at Home, as if Heaven had resolv'd to encourage a Nation newly come to their *Politick* Senses; and who were but beginning to take *right Measures* for making themselves Great and Happy.

Peace and *Union* was no sooner establish'd at Home, but *Victory* came in from Abroad, and the Queen, in Conjunction with Her *New-Ministry*, encourag'd by this happy Success Abroad, pursues the same Advice at Home; and, carrying on all Things by the same

same happy Measures, repeats the pressing Instances She had made before to Her next Parliament, which met in *November*, That they would Unite, and lay aside all Divisions and Animosities among themselves, as the only Way to make them all Happy. This you have at large in Her Speech to Both Houses, *October* the 24th, 1704, as follows:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I Cannot but tell you how essential it is for attaining these great Ends Abroad, of which we have so hopeful a Prospect, that we should be entirely United at Home.

'Tis plain our Enemies have no Encouragement left, but what arises from their Hopes of our Divisions; 'tis, therefore, your Concern not to give the least Countenance to these Hopes.

My Inclinations are to be Kind and Indulging to you all; I hope you will do nothing to endanger the Loss of this Opportunity, which God hath put into our Hands, of Securing Ourselves and all Europe; and that there will be no Contention amongst you; but who shall most promote the Publick Welfare.

Such a Temper as this, in all your Proceedings, cannot fail of Securing your Reputations both at Home and Abroad.

This would make Me a happy Queen, whose

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utmost Endeavour shall never be wanting to make you a happy and flourishing People.

The History of these Things is not the Business of this Tract, any farther, than, *as before*, they concur to shew how *Victory* Abroad and *Union* at Home kept Pace, and went Hand in Hand together; we shall have the Mortification, in its Turn, to tell you, That as our *Union* and *Peace* at Home decay'd, and wore out, so our *Successes* Abroad fell off and declin'd.

The last Year, famous for the Battle of *Blenheim*; the Conquest of *Bavaria*; the Recovering all that was lost in the Circle of *Swabia*, ended with the Re-Taking the strong Fortress of *Landau*; a Battle at Sea, to our Advantage, in the *Mediterranean*, and with beginning the War in *Spain* under King *Charles III.*

The next Year issued with no *Victory*, or great Action of Moment, yet the *French* weakned by the Ruin of their Affairs in *Bavaria*, tho' they disappointed the *Confederates* on the *Moselle*, yet suffer'd an equal Disappointment in their Enterprize on *Nimwegen*, and had their Lines forced at the End of the Campaign.

But the Year 1706, as it was the Meridian of our flourishing Affairs at Home, as to *Party*, *Peace*, and *Union* of the People, so it was the most glorious Year of *Victory* that the *Confederates*

Confederates ever saw, and the greatest Year of Losses to *France* that ever any Empire in the World could suffer, and yet remain unsubdued; for in the Beginning of this Year, first on *May-Day*, to begin the Year, the Siege of *Barcelona* was Raised by the *English* Succours coming thither, under the Command of Two known Officers, the Earl of *Peterborow*, and Sir *John Lake*, and the *Mareschal de Tesse* oblig'd to make his Retreat, in a desperate Manner, with the *French* Army to *Roses*, leaving 150 Pieces of Cannon and Mortars, 2500 Sick and Wounded Men, and all his Ammunition and Carriages behind him, Marching under the particular Mortification of a very remarkable Eclipse of the Sun, which was peculiarly visible there; and the more Terrifying as the Sun in its Splendor is the Device of the King of *France*, whose Glory, that Year, suffer'd the greatest Eclipse that had ever attended any Prince of this Age.

On the 12th of the same Month happen'd the great Battle of *Ramellies*, in *Flanders*, of which all our Histories are full, wherein the Flower of all *France*, as to Forces, fell in the Field, and which was follow'd by the Taking of almost all *Flanders*, the Cities of *Brussels*, *Bruges*, *Antwerp*, *Ghent*, *Machlin*, and *Lovain*; the strong Towns of *Oestend*, *Menin*, *Courtray*, *Oudenard*, *Alost*, *Dendermond*, and many more.

But,

But, as if this had not been enough, the Year ended with a Victory yet greater in its Kind and Effects than all these, *viz.* The Battle of *Turin*, wherein the Duke of *Orleans* was entirely overthrown, the Mareschal *Marfin* killed, the Siege of *Turin* Raised, the whole *French* Army defeated, 11000 Dragoons Horses taken, 250 Pieces of Cannon and Mortars, with all the Baggage, Tents, Ammunition, Carriages, and Camp of the *French*; and which Victory was follow'd by the entire Loss of *Italy* by the *French*; the Count *de Medavy* having capitulated to quit all the Towns held in the Dutchy of *Milan*, and on the *Po*, for Leave to withdraw the *French* Troops out of *Lombardy*.

It is not my Business to descant here upon these Great Things, but still to observe, That this Meridian of our Victories Abroad was just in the Meridian of our *Union* at Home; and, that as *Victory* crown'd thus our Arms, *Universal Satisfaction* crown'd our *Councils*, by Beginning and Compleating the greatest Transaction at Home that ever was brought to a Head in this Nation, I mean *the Union with Scotland*, which the next Session of Parliament had the Felicity to encourage, and to see finished,

For it began in *England*, the 16th of *April*.
Was ended there, and the Articles presented to Her Majesty the 23d of *July*:
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Begun to be consider'd in the Parliament of *Scotland*, the 3d of *October*.

The Ratification Perfected, Voted, Approv'd, Touch'd with the Royal Scepter, and, with Amendments, sent up to the Parliament of *England*, the 16th of *January*.

It pass'd the Parliament in *England* the 6th of *March*; and was pass'd by the Queen the 19th of *March*.

The Exemplification was sent down to *Scotland*, receiv'd there, and the last Parliament of that Kingdom Dissolved the 28th of *April*, 1707.

Happy would it be if I could say that our *Prosperity* Abroad, as our *Union* at Home, did not begin from henceforth to decline; and indeed they seem'd in this, very much to keep Pace, also, one with another. It is true, the *Successes* in *Flanders*, in some Measure continu'd, yet many *Misfortunes* from other Parts, gave a Check to our *Successes*, as the Beating back King *Charles* the III's Army in *Spain* from *Madrid*, and the Enemy Recovering all *Castile*; the Couping up the Earl of *Galloway* with his Forces in the little Province (tho' called a Kingdom) of *Valentia*; and, at last, the fatal Battle of *Almanza*, where the Earl of *Galway* and the *English* Army, tho' re-inforc'd by a great Body of Troops from *England*, under
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the *Earl Rivers*, were not only beaten, but entirely routed, and broken by the Duke of *Berwick*; a Victory as compleat in its proportion, as ours was at *Ramellies*; — and which was follow'd by the Loss of all *Spain*, the City of *Barcelona* excepted.

The Loss of that famous Expedition of the Duke of *Savoy*, and Prince *Eugene*, and Raising of the Siege of *Tholoun*, where the *Mareschal de Tbesse* effectually retriev'd the Honour he lost at *Barcelona*, and made himself a full Amends upon the Confederates, by Posting himself so in the Teeth of the German Army, that Prince *Eugene*, tho' allow'd to be as Great a General as the World has now to shew, could neither attack him, dislodge him, or carry on the Siege of the Town without it; and so was oblig'd, shamefully enough, to break up, and Retreat with Loss and Dishonour.

In short, nothing, from this Time, succeeded but in *Flanders*; and tho' it is true, that by the meer Strength of Arms and Superiority of Forces, we carry'd very considerable Towns, such as *Lisle*, *Tournay*, *Mons*, *Domay*, *St. Venant*, *Aine*, and *Bouchain*, and fought Three Battles, as at *Weynendale*, *Oudenard*, and *Blaregnies*, yet in all these *Victories*, the first excepted, we got little but the Honour of the Field; and the last was so destructive, and ruinous a Victory, that such another would have broken the Troops past the possibility

possibility of being quickly restor'd, having lost above 22000 Men, upon the Field of Battle, without any Advantage but the meer Name of a *Victory*; and that of having beaten the Enemy out of the Field of Battle; where, in less than 14 Days, they came and encamp'd again, even upon the same Spot.

The Conquests of the Towns also being all made by desperate Sieges, and Defended to the last Extremity; cost us so much Blood, and so discouraged and dispirited our Men, that in the last Campaign, upon the very Naming a Siege, the Desertion of the Men would be so great, that no Campaign, since the War, has given Proof of the like, which caus'd the King of *Prussia* to Publish the severest Proclamation against his Subjects that should Desert, that was ever heard of, *viz.* That their Noses should be cut off, be declar'd Infamous, and be sent Home to be kept in perpetual Imprisonment, &c.

In other Places I might give you an Account of the Defeat of the *Germans*: Under Count *Mercy*, by the Count *du Bourg*; on the Upper *Rhine*; the Invasion in *Scotland*; and the like, which last, tho' it fail'd in Success, yet had its evil Effects, not a few among us here; add to these the second Year of Misfortunes in *Spain*; the second Beating of the Confederates out of *Castile*; the Taking *Bribenga*; the Battle of *Villa Vicosa*; the Driving Count *Starembergh* back to his close

Quarters in *Barcelona*; Taking *Balaguer*, *Gironne*, &c. and to Crown all, our Miscarriage at *Canada*; and the like.

It remains to bring to your View the *Unhappy Breaches, Divisions, and Party-Strife*, which influenc'd us at Home, during all these Ruffles Abroad, to make good the Connection afore said; and shew how our *Successes* Abroad have all along kept Pace with our good *Understanding and Peace* among ourselves.

No sooner was the *Union* with *Scotland* finish'd, and both Nations expected the Fruits of it should appear in the Temper of our People at Home, but *Court Interest, Faction, Ambition, Jealousy, and Party-Quarrels* divided us, and brought both Nations into greater *Mischiefs, Heats, Quarrels, and furious Animosities* against one another, than ever they were in before, since the *Revolution*. However, as it belongs not to this Chapter to enter upon the *Unhappy History* of the Particulars, having design'd to state them at large by themselves, I break off here with Noting that, in Performance of this Scheme, I shall let you see by what wretched Steps this poor Nation was brought from her *Flourishing State*, at the Time of the *Union* in *Scotland*, to the Posture we are now seen in, viz. *Confusion, Distrust* of one another, *Jealousy of Parties, Animosity, Personal Reproach*, and every Thing that fits a Nation for *Ruin and Destruction*.



C H A P. II.

This Chapter contains an Abridgement of the History of PARTIES among us, deduced from their Introduction into the State, from and after the Union; and stated and brought down as they now appear among us, to the Time of Passing the Occasional Bill, and therein Finishing the Ruin of the Dissenters.



U R last Chapter giving a General Scheme of Things before the *Union* of the Two Kingdoms, viz. in what Manner the Prosperity of the Nation both began and afterwards declin'd, it follows according to the Method prescribed, that this Chapter should enter more particularly into the Detail of our *Divisions, Parties, and Distracti-*

ons which immediately followed, and by which it will more particularly appear by what Steps we came to the present Condition we are in, and to what Originals are Owing the Heats, Fury, and Animosities which Reign among us.

The first remarkable Transaction which happen'd at Court, after the *Union*, was an open and irreconcilable Breach between the Lord Treasurer, *God—n*, and the Duke of *M—gb* on one part, and the then Secretary of State, *Mr. Harley*, on the other: A beginning fruitful of Great Events, and which put the whole Body of our Parties into a New Ferment, till the Issue has produced many and great Changes in both *Persons* and *Measures*, and been indeed, the Original of all the several Phenomena of *Court Policies* which have happen'd since in either Kingdom, and which has, more or less, affected every Branch of the Government, and every Party among the People; this may well be accounted an *Unhappy Occurrence*, as it has Embroil'd the Nation in many *Disorders*, and ended in the Ruin, as to the Favour of their Prince, and as to *Publick Employment*, of the whole *Ministry* of that Time, as shall appear in its Place.

The Invasion made by the *French* in *Scotland*, in behalf of the *Pretender*, with the Consequences of that Expedition, not so much Historically, as it respected the *Enemy*,

my, but Familiarly, as it respected our *Civil Broils*, either in *England* or *Scotland*, may be said to be an effect of this *Mischief*: For so many wrong Steps were taken at Home, by running upon the *Bank*, to the danger of the *Publick Credit*; by bringing *Prisoners* from *Scotland*, taken up, as was alledg'd, as *Party* and *Affection*, not real *Reason* and *Danger* directed, the bringing them up as *Criminals* in *Custody* to *England*, and then having nothing to lay to them; and many other *Mysterious Articles* of *Management*, which had little to be said to defend them, prov'd strongly, That the *Publick* was in some strange *Ferment*, which would certainly appear, and break out in a little time, as indeed it did, to the astonishment of *Wise men*, the encouragement of the then *Outland Party*, and the ruin of both the *Contending Interests*.

I am far from being of their *Opinion*, who have frequently, and publickly, pretended to wish, that the *Pretender* had Landed in *Scotland*, or thought that it might have been better for us if it had been so; and I beg Leave for a *Digression* on that needful Subject, tho' it may be something long; such a Thought, in Men who own and pretend to be for the *Present Establishment*, (for if they speak as *Jacobites* they alter the Case) can be rational, upon no other Supposition than that of the *Invaders* being easily conquer'd when they

should Land, which, say they, would not only have put an End to the *Pretender*, by his inevitable falling into our Hands; but would eventually have been the Ruin of the *Jacobite* Interest in *Scotland*; the Overthrow of the Party; and perhaps at last, the final End of the *High-Land* Superiorities, which at present, is the greatest Danger and Offence to the *British Government*, and which has in it some Difficulties in the Constitution by means of the *Union*, which the *Crown* has no other Way ever to get the Mastery of: This is as much as can be said on that Head.

But, as such People are presum'd not to have taken *right Measures*, or to have look'd into the Dangers of other Kinds with which such a *Success* would have been attended, they are desired to consider a few of the following Generals, all which were attended with particular Mischiefs; too many to be enumerated.

1. The Diversion to the Campaign then just going to begin; the Duke of *Marlborough* being thought the only Man fit to be Trusted with the Affair, and about 22000 Men adjudg'd needful.

2. The ruin of the Country, which, as Measures must have been taken, wou'd have been at least two Months in the full Possession of the Enemy.

3. The

3. The blow to *Publick-Credit* at Home, which was too evident to need any Explanation.
4. The bringing Home the *War* to our own Door, and making our own Fruitful Country the Seat of *Desolation*.
5. The many Ways it would have answer'd the Ends of the King of *France*, according to the Example of the *Male-Contents* in *Hungary*, who, tho' they have ruin'd their Country, and done themselves no Good, have many Ways serv'd the Interest of the *French*, who for that purpose, at first fomented their Disorders.

As for the probable Progress and Success, which in the mean time, and before our Army could have come up with them, we having no Fortify'd *Frontiers*, no Place of *Arms*, no Magazines of *War-like Stores*, or Provision laid up there, we ought to have expected; the Reader is referr'd to the following Account, taken out of the Preface to the *History of the late Union*, and publish'd in *Edinb.* the Year after the Invasion, where this Case is spoken to at large, thus:

It must be confess'd, never was Nation in such a Condition to be Invaded; and there is no doubt but, had the French landed their Forces, and got their Stores of Arms and Ammunition

munition on Shore, as they might easily have done, if they had not over-shot their Port, they would, with very little Opposition have been Masters of the whole Country.

It may be thought, by some, remote to my Purpose, to demonstrate this; but when I consider what different Notions the People in *England* have of the Attempt of the *French*, and their Success in it, I cannot think it a useless Labour, to give you a brief Essay, at what the Event of that Enterprize might probably have been, — that so we may see what we have to be Thankful for, therefore I proceed;

I am now to suppose the French safe on Shore; their Magazine and Train of Artillery Landed, and the Earl of Levin, the General for Her Majesty, retreating towards Berwick, as he must undoubtedly have done, — and, as his Orders directed him to do; — without which, his Retreat being cut off, he must have been Surrounded and Taken, or have been cut in Pieces, having no Place of Strength to Retreat to.

Had they been thus on Shore, there is no doubt, but in two Hours, that is, in a very short Time, they had been Masters of Edinburgh, an open City, and without Defence: The Castle, indeed, might have held out some time; but the
City

City could have made no Resistance.—But that which was worse, the Circumstances of the Time were such, and the People were so divided, that the City must have sent down to Leith to have sought Protection from the French against their own Rabbles; and they must have desired the French to have come and taken them into their Protection, to have preserv'd them from Plunder and Confusion.

I think, whatever the Reasons of this were, which I desire to bury in Silence, the Fact will be readily granted; and indeed all Men own'd, at that time, that if the French Landed their Forces, they must be Masters of the City of Edinburgh without any Opposition.

'Tis true, that I am now but upon suggestion, and meer supposition; and I do not affirm positively; but I leave it to any Man to judge of Probabilities, and whether, what I suggest is Rational or no; when the French were thus possess'd of Edinburgh, it is very reasonable to suppose that the first Thing they would have done, was to Proclaim their King; if the Magistrates of the City would not have agreed to have perform'd the Ceremony; the Tolbooth was near at Hand, and the Citizens being assembl'd, would soon have chosen New Magistrates, who would cheerfully have done it —.

Their King being proclaim'd, it seems rational to suppose they next should summon the Inhabitants to take an Oath of Fidelity to him;

him; such as refus'd would have their Estates Confiscated, and perhaps be Imprison'd; and if they got room to fly, would have their Houses Plunder'd.

Being thus Masters of the Capital, and the Queen's Troops having Fled, or Retreated towards Berwick, the Coutrey expos'd to their Power; I think I make no Trespass on good Manners or Justice, if I say the Northern High-landers would have been rais'd by the Authority of their Superiours, who were for the most part Jacobites. — These being in Arms, the Low-Lands are at their Mercy, and they had soon possess'd themselves of the whole Country, the Militia being entirely without a Head, and without Order, unlock'd from the former Settlement, and unfix'd in a New.

Being thus possess'd of the Low-Lands, they soon would have been Masters of the whole Country; and indeed there were very few that durst shew their Faces against them, the Forwardness of one Party, and the Disorders and Divisions of the other, making way for it: — When they had thus reduced the Low-Lands, they had no more to do then to call a Convention of Estates, as at the Revolution, and finding these fast to their Interest; the First Case would be to recind the Revolution; declare the limited Succession a visible Rebellion, and invading the Right of another; and thus a compleat National Turn would have pass'd upon us; and the Revolution should

should suffer a Re-revolution in a few Weeks: These Things would require but little time, neither is it Presumption to suppose they should have gotten a Representative return'd, that would have come into such Measures; since they having the absolute Possession of the Country, the influencing them under such Circumstances, to the choosing of such Persons as they shall think fit to put upon them, was easie enough: Instances of which have been but too common in this Island, under a less Tyrannical Power than a French Army.

While they were thus settling their Civil Government, — their Military Affairs would not have fail'd; the Inclination of the Comon People about Edinburgh, and the Influence of the Chiefs and Heads of Clans in the Highlands, would have soon furnish'd Men for a New-Revolution; — the Sixteen Regiments which they brought with them (so it seems they had determin'd) should have had 200 Men added to every Regiment, by way of filling up, — Five Regiments of Dragoons, and Forty Battalions of Foot, were to have been rais'd immediately —; the Command of these Troops was to be given to Irish Officers, and of such they brought great Numbers with them; save only that the Colonels, and some Captains were to be chosen of the Superiors, or Chiefs, where they were rais'd, to Encourage the raising them.

Thus, in less than Six Weeks, they shou'd have

have had 30000 Men added to the Troops they brought with them —; the Money they would have given the High-land Gentlemen, would effectually have brought these Gentlemen to forsake their Prince and join with them; and thus the Design would have gone on beyond Expectation.

We are next to enquire, what was to become of the English Preparation all this while? You have heard what Strength they were of, when come together; but it could not be possible they could all be brought together, their Magazines furnis'd (for the French would have taken care they should have subsisted ill enough in Scotland,) their Train of Artillery have been come up, and they in Condition to have march'd into Scotland in Battalia, as they must have done, under six Weeks or two Months. —; the Difficulties of the Roads, the Country being at that time very deep, and the Carriages heavy, would have made it very bad marching an Army —; and the Want of Forrage would have made it impracticable to have done it sooner.

All this time the French Jacobites in Scotland would have had, to have steengthen'd their New Settlement, form'd their Army, fortify'd Leith and other Places, and have prepar'd for War.

I shall readily grant, as any-Body can desire, That when the English Army came to be

be ready, and enter Scotland, they should Beat these New-Invaders out of all; and that they should, in time, pay Dear for the Attempt; but it must be granted, this would have these Consequences withal: (1.) That it would have ruin'd Scotland; (2.) brought the Seat of War Home to our own Doors; (3.) caused a Diversion of our Forces, and been an Occasion of withdrawing our Troops from Flanders, where the Enemy felt the greatest Weight of the War, and (4.) have exceedingly protracted the War. Those Gentlemen that were for having them Land, may consult these probable Consequences, and they will see whether they have not very good reason to be sensible of the Happiness of the Disappointment.

Thus far was observ'd then upon the Spot, and, indeed, the Condition of England concurr'd to make it rational; for the Train of Artillery, and Stores for War, were not to be ventur'd by Sea, so as to have the Army to march without them; they were order'd from the Tower, and it was Twenty Days e'er the Officers propos'd to be ready; the Badness of the Roads, and the Length of the Way was such, that they could not possibly be supposed to arrive at Berwick under 20 Days more, all which Time must have been spent before the Army could have set their Foot into Scotland.

But

But I leave this, and believe it is enough demonstrated, and therefore the Nation cannot but be sensible, that the whole was a happy Deliverance from Heaven; and this Nation had much better have employ'd their Management in Giving Thanks for Escaping from that, and putting themselves in a Posture to prevent the like, than to fall into *Parties*, as they did, to such a Degree, as that the Enemy have since had Opportunities to do the like, without an Army, rather than any Occasion to send another.

This was that fatal Breach between the *Antients* and the *Moderns*, as it was wittily called at that Time, *viz.* between the *Old-Whiggs* and the *New-Whiggs*, or to speak more plainly, between the *Juncto*, or *Whigg Lords*, and the *Ministry*; By the *Juncto*, to explain the Word once for all, were then understood the E—s of *Sun—d*, *Or—d*, and *Wha—on*, the Lords *Som—s* and *Hal—x*, and some eminent Commoners; these associated, for this Occasion only, with a *Party* of the like Kidney, *That Word being taken modernly for Party in Scotland*, who had, for some Years past, been known there by the Distinction of the *Flying-Squadron*, or in their own Language *the Squadroni*.

It remains pretty much a Mystery to this Day, why these Two Parties, we mean the *Ministry* and the *Juncto*, fell out, and the utmost Discovery that we can arrive to in
that

that Case, tho' after nice Enquiry, amounts to no more than the violent Inclination of the Latter to come into the Administration; and tho' I am very backward to say any Thing to the Reproach of those Gentlemen who were call'd the *Juncto*, who were always esteem'd Persons of Honour; yet the Freedom with which they laid down all their Complaints and Pretensions, when they were taken into the said *Ministry*; the Certainty that they alter'd nothing of the Abuses complain'd of, after they were brought in; the little Concern they shew'd for their Allies and Friends who had espoused them against the *Ministry*, and who they left expos'd for it, with several other Steps taken by those Gentlemen in the subsequent Part of their Conduct, make a full Defence for the aforesaid Suggestion, of their having no other End in the *Breaches* aforesaid, but their own *Advancement*.

How far they pursued their Complaints on either Side; to what Height they went; how they were at last reconcil'd, and carry'd on the Publick Affairs in Concert; how they laid, in the said former Feuds, the Foundation of Restoring a *Party*, who Vigilant to take Advantages from these Com-motions, broke in upon them, and over-turn'd them Both: These melancholly Truths will necessarily come to be enlarg'd upon in the ensuing Sheets.

In the Process of this Management we come next to observe, That the *High-Flying* Clergy, finding the Nation weaken'd by their private Dissentions; the Interest of the *Ministry* not the same among the People as it used to be; and especially, Declining with the Queen; an Alteration, perhaps, as much Owing to the Impolitick Stiffness, not to say Rudeness, of One Old *She Favourite*, as to all the Insinuations and Aggressions of the *New*: The *High-Flying* Interest, as we observ'd, finding it now their Time to strike, prepar'd their Measures with the utmost Silence and Cunning; they had, indeed, given Signals of their concerted Designs by all possible, but private Hints, such as, That now was the Time for the Friends of the *Church* to exert themselves; that the *Church* would have one Blow yet for it; and that her Enemies did not know her Strength; and to that length they came, that a little before the Meeting of the Parliament, 1710, they caused an Advertisement to be publish'd in the Prints, and industriously spread about, signifying to the Clergy, *That now was the Time to exert themselves for the Service and Interest of the Church.* The unwary Town took little Notice of this Advertisement; but those People who were let into the Secret took Care to let their Friends know the Meaning of it; and the whole Nation, soon after, found it in the Effects.

The

The first Thing which possibly encouraged them in the Prospects they had of giving a Turn to the State of Affairs, lay in this, That the *Juncto* and *Whiggs*, named before, in their last unaccountable Step relating to the *Ministry*, had introduced into the Houses of Parliament many of their Friends; for those Gentlemen had made no Scruple to Vote for the most open *High-Flyers*, nay, even for known *Jacobites*, provided only, that they would but joyn in keeping Out the Men who were in the Interest of the Court; albeit, those *Court Whiggs* were otherwise, as true to the *Revolution Principle* as themselves, and known by them to be so; but this was not all, for they not only brought many such in who it was never in their Power, since that Time, to throw out; but they thereby divided and amused the People in other Places, so that they were less steady in their Voting for *Honest Men*; being amus'd and bewilder'd, not knowing to Day who was to be accounted an *Honest Man* to Morrow; so that when the other Interest, in subsequent Elections, began to put forward, the *Whiggs* found the People loose, their Interest broken, and the *Free-holders* Choosing the *Tories*, by the very Example which the *Whiggs* had given them the Session before.

It was in vain for a *Whigg* to argue with a poor *Honest Free-holder*, or to press him

not to Vote for Sir W—m, but for Mr. — as the Honefter Man, the other being a *Jacobite*; when the poor Man could answer, *L—d, Sir, you told me last time, Sir W—m was a very Honest Gentleman, and Mr. — was a Mercenary Courtier; and you made me Vote for Sir W—m; and now you tell me Sir William was for the Pretender, and that Mr. — is a very Honest Gentleman; what must I do?* — The upshot was, the *Free-holder* having been bidden to Vote for the *High-Flyer* before, does it now without bidding, and cannot be brought off from it; and this, together with the Vigilance of the other People, over-threw their *Election*, and lost the Day, almost over the whole Nation.

This unhappy Truth is recorded, not so much to reproach those Gentlemen with the Mistake they made in their Conduct, at that time, as to hint to them the evil Consequences, and warn them from the like Measures in their subsequent Behaviour, and the Management, both of themselves and their Friends.

For not only were the People who had, for Two Parliaments before stuck Close to their Interests, been made *Wavering*, and *Inconstant*, by seeing their Patriots act *Fast* and *Loose* in their own Affairs: But the vigilant *Clergy* who had, as above, been warned to hold themselves ready for some Great Advantage, fell in with the Occasion, and improving

improving these inconsistent Practices among the common People, fill'd their Heads with Apprehensions of Designs against the *Queen* and the *Church*, and rais'd such a Tempest of *High-Church Faction*, that when it broke out, carry'd down all before it.

Now, altho' Things ripen'd apace for the Confusions which follow'd, yet the more immediate Occasion, upon which to set the Wheels into motion, was not concluded on, till Dr. *Sacheverell*, (a Name eagerly cry'd up, for a time, and since as willingly forgotten) in a Sermon on the 5th of *November*, 1710, at *St. Pauls*, broke the Way; whether forward in the general *Heat* that possess'd the *Clergy*; whether in the Course of his usual *Railery*; or, whether by Concert of the *Party*, is a Secret not of Moment enough to have employ'd any Heads to enquire.

It needs not to enter here into so well known a History as that of his *Sermon*, or of the Lord Mayor foolishly *Espousing it*, and cowardly *Denying it* afterwards in the *House of Commons*, for which he was both Ways expos'd, and became the most despis'd Thing by both Sides that has lately been heard of; nor is it worth while to give here the Minutes of his publick *Prosecution, Tryal, Defence, Sentence, &c.* It may suffice to hint only a few Things, for the sake of which only, a Name so Contemptible gets a Place in this Tract.

The *Sermon* was, to the highest Degree, *Insolent, Unmannerly, Untrue in Substance*; and what, as no Man of Modesty, or in his Senses, wou'd have done, so no Man ought to be suffer'd, unpunish'd, to have done it. But the Resenting it so far, as to bring it to an *Impeachment in Parliament*, and pursu'd with all the solemnity of a *Trial*, by the Highest *Judicature* in the Nation, was the only Step which ruin'd the Case; open'd the Door to all the Scheme laid, as above; made the *Man* popular, and his *Cause* be no more his, but the *Cause of the Church and Party* against the *Whiggs* and the *Ministry*; and thus this *Trifle* was made the *Introduction* to all the *Mischiefs* that ensu'd, and open'd the Door for the greatest Revolution of Affairs that had happen'd from the coming in of the *Prince of Orange*.

I am not of the Opinion that some entertain, *viz.* That secret Hands subtilly push'd the *late Ministry* on to the Precipitation aforesaid; whereas, they ought only to have taken the usual Notice of such Things, *viz.* Order'd it to have been Burnt by the *Hangman*; the *Sermon* voted *Seditious*, and the *Preacher* *Scandalous*; and then there had been an end of it: But, however, this might have been the Wiser way, as Things afterwards fell out. I cannot see how it was in the least to be expected, that the *Ministry* could foresee the Consequence, all which
was

was owing to the Unsteadiness of a certain Number of those, who, as they came into the first *Measures*, viz. of the *Prosecution*, so, if they had adher'd to their first Notions of it, might have effectually clench'd that *Prosecution*: But now they not only Defeated the *Party Prosecuting*, but, if some say true, Influenced *some-body* in Favour of the *Criminal*: Whether this be so or not, this seems to be most certain, that had a Sentence been pass'd in any measure suitable to the Circumstances of the *Man*, and Nature of the *Crime*; had the *Person* been degraded as a *Scandalous Fellow*, as even his own Party acknowledg'd him to be; had the *House* express'd the same Detestation of the *Crime*, after the *Verdict*, as they did before; had they disabled him, Imprison'd him, or any other way severely Punish'd him, he had never been Caress'd by the *Rabble*, Sainted, Worship'd, and at last bloated up with *Pride* to such an Excess, as to make his own *Friends* ashamed of him; nor had a *Seditious Sermon* had such prodigious Effect all over this Nation, as it had.

But the Nation was fill'd with a Complication of *Disorders* and *Dissatisfactions*, and, like as a Body full of Humours, sinks under the first little Hurt it receives, which at another time would be of no value; the whole Flux of *Politick Discontent*; the Humours of the *National Body*, gave themselves

vent here: The People who were ripen'd for *Tumult*, took Fire like Gunpowder, at the least Sparkle among them, and therefore it is not to be wonder'd at, if abundance of Inconsistent and Incongruous Steps were taken by those who were not let into the Secret, but were manag'd by those who were.

It is evident, the Affair of *Sacheverell* was an accident, as it related to the Consequences that were produced from it; and the *Party* that afterwards espous'd it, who, knowing nothing at first of the Measures that afterwards were taken, yet fell in, Unanimously, with the Occasion that was given, and made it serve their Purposes, as well as if it had been of their own Contrivance. The Prosecution of a *Clergy-man* gave an extraordinary handle to those who had been long endeavouring to revive the Old unsuccessful Notion of *the Danger of the Church*; they easily insinuated into the Heads of the Ignorant Vulgar, that the *Crime* for which he was Prosecuted, was *Trifling* and *Frivolous*; and that tho' he had been rash, and might have let fall some inconsiderate Words, it was below the whole Body of the *Ministry*, and not worth while to embark the *Government* in such a formal *Prosecution*, for a few Hot Words of a *Parish-Parson*; that if they had had no other Design, than to have humbled the *Man*, the *House of Commons* cou'd have

have Voted it *Insolent* and *Scandalous*, as it really was, and have brought him upon his Knees at the Bar of the *House*; which had been Mortification enough to him, and in which no-Body wou'd have Oppos'd them; but the Carrying on the *Prosecution* to the Heighth they did, made it evident, That the Design was of greater Consequence; that the whole *Clergy* were concern'd in it; that the *Church* itself was aim'd at; that the *Whiggs* had been long in Confederacy to clip the Wings of the *Ecclesiasticks*, and to have reduc'd the *Church of England* to a Comprehension with, if not a Subjection to *Presbyterianism*, and the *Fanaticks*; and that therefore it behov'd the whole Body of the People of *England*, if they wou'd prevent the Ruin of the *Church*, to appear, and stand up for this Case of Doctor *Sackeverell*.

The Success they gain'd in the Tryal, added to the Easiness of the People's Temper at that time, to receive suitable Impressions, as is before noted, made these Arguments the more popular, and brought the Mobb about the *Criminal*, whom they attended to and from the Place of Tryal with Shouts and Hussa's, as to a Triumph; erecting him, upon all Occasions, as a *Martyr* for the *Church*; the *Innocent Mobb* suffer'd themselves, in doing this, to be impos'd upon by those People who subtilly, and for the Ends aforesaid, had encourag'd 'em to come together, and to be

be hurry'd on to commit several Violences and Insults upon the *Publick Peace*, such, as even the *Party* themselves, nor the *Government* afterwards, tho' gotten into their Hands, cou'd either justify, nor support them in, such as pulling Down the *Meeting-Houses*, insulting the *Dwelling-Houses* of the *Dissenting-Ministers*, threatening to plunder the *Bank*, and the like.

But the *Party* who, as before, had subtilly laid hold of these Things to serve the Purposes which they secretly design'd, tho' they suffer'd these Rabblings to go on in several Parts of the Kingdom, yet they rather serv'd their present Occasion from them, in order to prosecute the Schemes of a *Revolution*, which follow'd after, than either approv'd of, or supported them: The first Use they made of it, was to perswade *Some-body*, that the general Bent of the Nation was to be judg'd of by these *Popular Commotions*, and that the *Government* ought to steer, in some Measures, by that Rule in the future Management of the *Publick-Affairs*; that the *Ministry* then in being, were grown Odious to the People, and could not support themselves, when another Parliament should once come to be elected; that all wise *Governments* took their aim from, and measured Things by the general Bent of the *Inclinations* of the *People*, and that, in this Case, Things were come to that length, that if some Steps were

were not taken, in compliance with the present Temper of the Times, some Danger might be apprehended, and the real *Oppressions* of the Church, which the People were now made so sensible of, might cause *Nature* to rebel against *Principle*, and produce some Effects fatal to the present Establishment: By these Artifices the Change of the *Ministry* was brought to pass in the first Place, which took up some Time in the Management; and the People were left in suspense, as to the *Parliament*, whether it should continue or no; the *Managers*, who had found the Rabble so useful, at *London*, in the Affair aforesaid, made use of this Time to try their Strength all over the Kingdom, and finding the People possess'd with the same *Madness* in the Country, they were too Wise to slip the Opportunity of getting a *Parliament* Chosen under the Influence of the *Popular Fermentation*.

As an Introduction to this, they set their Agents to work to get Addresses from all Parts of the Kingdom to the Queen, tacitely Inviting Her Majesty to Dissolve the *Parliament*, and loudly Boasting of their powerful Endeavours in the Election of a *New*; and that the Connection of their Actions may more plainly appear, they pretended to ground the *Dissolution* of the *Parliament* upon these *Popular Addresses*, and the general Opinion of the People express'd

prefs'd thereby ; and the Proclamation for Dissolving the Parliament is calculated to signify the same Thing in these Words :

And to the Intent our good Subjects may perceive the Confidence we have in the Assurances they have given us of their Duty and Affection, and how desirous we are to meet our People, and have their Advice by their Representatives in Parliament, We do hereby make known to our said Subjects, That We do intend, in some short Time, to give Directions to our Chancellour of Great Britain to cause Writs to be issued in Form of Law for the Calling a New Parliament. [Vide Proclamation the 21st of Sept. 1710.]

These Observations upon the Affair of Sacheverell are made the more particular, that Posterity may receive a true Notion how these Things were transacted, and how far this little, but popular Article was made the Introduction of the great *Revolutions* and *Changes* that happen'd in the *English* Court : Any one that looks narrowly into these Affairs will easily be satisfy'd, that these Observations are just, especially when they look into the *Conduct* of the *Government* and the *Ministry*, and of all the *Party* which carry'd on these Transactions, as it respects the Person of the said *Sacheverell*, whom they never after regarded, gave the
least

least Reward to, or took any Notice of; but let him drop as a Tool which, tho' they had thought fit to make Use of, they had no Manner of Respect for, and have many Reasons to be asham'd of; they that question this, as very few do, do need no more than enquire of the Doctor himself, who being disappointed of the mighty Things which his Vanity made him believe he had Merit to deserve, loudly enough Complains of it; they may further be satisfy'd by Observing, that you find him now mention'd in no Company, but all the Persons of Quality and Sense endeavour, as much as possible, to forget his very Name; and far from Drinking his Health coupled with the Queen's, as, while it served the *Popular Turn*, they had the Folly to do: If any Man has the Indiscretion to name him with a Glas, 'tis generally put by with a Hand and this Proverbial Saying, *Prithee plague us no more with that Fellow; name some-body else.*

We are now come to a New Scene of Affairs, the Parliament is chosen, and the Addressers, *perhaps the first Instance of that Kind*, very well kept their Word with the Queen, and return'd the very Men they pretended to: The *Whiggs* are universally thrown out, a few Places excepted, where their governing Interest render'd it impossible; the Tumultuous Manner of Elections, in most Parts of the Kingdom, but in the
Cities

Cities of *London* and *Westminster* especially, dispirited and discouraged the *Whiggs* so, that they declin'd to appear, or to defend their own Interest and Party as they us'd to do; even in *Scotland*, by a Management very particular, a Set of Men were return'd quite different from those who had had the Leading Interest in that Country for many Years past; the Elections there being manag'd, as well as in *England*, not by the Power and Influence of the Party itself, but by such as were come over to 'em, from what View and with what Prospects, it is needless here to enlarge upon.

The Ministry and Management being thus changed, and a *House of Commons* sorted and returned in the Manner aforesaid, we need not say what was expected from them by all Sorts of People: The *Whiggs*, in general, apprehended no less than a *Universal Overthrow* of the *Constitution*; *Confederacy* with *France*; and a Bringing in of the *Pretender*: The *Dissenters*, as such, grew perfectly disconsolate of the *Toleration*, while the *Jacobites* wanted Temper to contain themselves, even so much as their own Interest required; nor was the Fears of the *Whiggs* and the *Dissenters* ill-grounded at all, if we were to allow them to take their Measures from the Boasts of their Enemies, who had so little Government of themselves, as is said above, to own their Expectations and Assurances

Assurances of the Restoration of their *Party* by this new Turn of *Affairs*; nay, so weak had some of the *Jacobites* been, especially in *Scotland*, as to declare, That they expected that the *Approaching Parliament*, with Consent of the *Queen*, should recognize the *Right* of the *Pretender*; that Her Majesty should acknowledge Herself unwilling to keep him any longer from his *Lawful Possession*, and should move the *Parliament* to re-call him.

But the Event of Things soon unriddl'd all these *Misteries*, and whatever Complaints had been made of the Conduct of *Persons*, of *Mismanagement*, *Misapplication*, &c. it appear'd evident, That the grand Design of all was rather Changing the *Men* than the *Measures*; Deposing the *Instruments* of *Government*, not the *Government* itself; so that, after the first Hurries were over, the Management of Things return'd into the same *Channel*, and were left standing upon the same Foundations as they were before; all Things were transacted upon the Foot of the *Revolution*; the *Establish'd Protestant Succession* particularly espoused, and more than common *Applications* made to the House of *Hanover* to perswade 'em to believe, that this *Ministry* was more in their *Interest*, and would more concern themselves to establish it in the Hearts of the *People* than the *Last*.

This

This is particularly noticed here because, upon all publick Occasions, *Speeches* and *Prints*, relating either to carrying on the *War* Abroad, or supporting *Credit*, and raising *Money* at Home, occasion had been taken to reflect upon the *Conduct* of the *late Ministry*. First, as to the *War*, That they had been particularly careful to push Things in *Flanders*, in Complement to the Duke of *Marlborough*, placing the Sum of Affairs on the Forces under his Command; neglecting, at the same Time, the War in *Spain*, where, as they pretended, it should have been more particularly pursued. This is evident, not only from the *Publick Speeches* and *Pamphlets*, dispers'd about on that Occasion, but also from Her Majesty's Speech to the *Parliament*, wherein are the following Words :

The carrying on the War in all its Parts, but particularly in Spain, with the utmost Vigour, is the likeliest Means, with God's Blessing, to procure a Safe and Honourable Peace for us and all our Allies. [Vide Queen's Speech the 14th of Novemb. 1710.]

From these *Words*, seconded by the Concurring *Addresses* of the *Parliament*, what could *Europe* expect less, than that the greatest Part of the *British Forces* should have been re-called from *Flanders*, and sent into *Spain*, the like with respect to the *Publick Credit*;
and

and the *Ways and Means* made use of by the *Late Ministry*, for the Raising Money for the carrying on the *War*; the Way of borrowing of *Loans* upon *Funds* have been exploded, and cry'd down as Ruinous and Destructive to the Nation, and the *Late Ministry* reproach'd till the Intailing an Eternal and Insupportable weight of Debt upon our *Posterity*, by which they would be entirely disabled from making *War* with any-body, for One Hundred Years to come, tho' it were never so much in their own Defence, unless they should have so much *Wit* more than *Honesty*, as not to think themselves bound to make it good, as it is noted above in the Case of the *War*, that the People expected a *New-Seal*; so, in the Case of *Money*, these Things made the People expect, that the Taxes, for the Future, should be rais'd by some other way; but when the *New Ministry* came to act, all these *Chimera's* vanish'd, the *Scots Jacobites*, who, as is noted above, expected their Members should have little more to do in *Parliament*, but to Recognize, and Restore the *Pretender*, saw those very Members nominated, by the *House of Lords*, to be of the Committee appointed to draw up their first Address to the *Queen*, assuring Her Majesty of their Resolution to stand by Her against all Her *Enemies* at *Home* and *Abroad*, and of their adhering steadily to the *Protestant Succession* in the *Illustrious House of Hanover*.

As to the War; they were so far from altering their Measures that were taken before, or from diminishing the Army in *Flanders*, or encreasing that in *Spain*, that, instead of drawing off Troops from the Duke of *Marlborough's* Army, several Regiments of Foot and Dragoons were sent thither from *Britain*; nor were there any new Forces sent from hence to *Spain*, except such as were newly Hired of the *Emperour*, or had been resolv'd, or appointed to be sent there by the *Old Ministry*; so that the Duke of *Argyle*, who was named for that *Service*, and who thought to have appear'd there, something like the Duke of *Marlborough* in *Flanders*, found himself in no other Station, nor in any better Condition than Mr. *Stanhope* had been in before him. As to the *Publick Credit* and *Raising of Money*, the Case was entirely the same; for the *Ministry*, far from pretending to Raise the *Immense Sums* which the pressing *Occasions* of the *War* call'd for, found themselves necessitated to go on in the *Old way*, and Raise the *Money* by the same *Measures*, such as *Funds*, *Loans*, *Lotteries*, &c. just as others have done before them.

Thus ended the Year 1711, when a new and unexpected Scene of Affairs appear'd upon the Stage; the unriddling the Mystery whereof must not only lead us into *Things* not altogether unknown to most People; but

but wonderfully mistaken on every Side; where we shall see the *Unhappy People* of this Age, not only run into *Errors* and *Mistakes*, but so *Obstinate* and *Tenacious*, as to break out into all sorts of *Violence* one at another, upon *Questions* little Understood, and of no great Consequence, if they had been explain'd; this relates to the *Treaty of Peace*, set on Foot this Year, with *France*, and which will be known to the Ages to come by the Title of *The Treaty of Utrecht*.

The *Ministry*, who had seen the Difficulty, the last Year, of *Raising Money*, and the Struggle of the *Contrary Party* to make it yet more Difficult for the Time to come, knew very well, that a Want either of *Funds* to Borrow upon, or of *Credit* to Borrow; by, both which, upon any return of a *Whiggish* Majority, might easily be interrupted, would sink them; and on the other Hand sensible, that tho' they had now a *Parliament* to their Minds, yet that they were not sure that they should always be able to keep the Interest that they had gain'd upon the *common People*, whom they knew *Fluctuating* and *Uncertain* in their Tempers, and who might, by some unforeseen Accident, be turn'd as violently against them, as they were now for them; and that any such Turn might hazard the plunging the *Ministry* into *Inextricable Difficulties*, and so drive the *Sovereign* to the unavoidable Necessity of changing Hands a third Time.

These Things being apparent, and the *Ministry* too Wise not to see into it, put them upon considering of Means for Establishing themselves in the *Administration*, without being put to the hazard of the Difficulties aforesaid: It was easie to perceive, that there was but one Way to do this, and that was to bring the *War* they had upon their Hands, if possible, to a Conclusion, that so the Annual Demand of *Vast Sums* for the carrying it on, being at an End, the *Hazards* aforesaid, and *Difficulties* for the raising it, would Dye of course.

The Dangers of an Attempt of this Nature did not appear so great, as by People out of the *present Management* was imagin'd; the *Circumstances* of the *French King* were very well known; and he had discover'd both the Necessity he was in of a *Peace*, and his Desire of obtaining it, too plainly for our Court not to know, that he would accept the first Intimation of that kind with a great deal of Willingness. The *Confederates*, at the last Treaty, had ty'd him down so Hard, had press'd him so Close upon the Head of *the Evacuation of Spain*, that he foresaw the Ruin of all his Glory, if he had comply'd with them; and therefore chose to hazard all in the Event of another Campaign, rather than to yield to such *Disbonourable Terms* as he thought them: And tho', in the process of the next Campaign,

Campaign, he met with unexpected Encouragement, as well from the Defeat of King *Charles's* Armies in *Spain*, by which that Prince was driven back again from the *Escurial* at *Madrid*; to his ancient Winter-Quarters in *Barcelona*, as from the sudden and unexpected Death of the *Emperor*, which was necessarily attended with drawing off a considerable Part of the Forces in *Flanders*, by all which Accidents concurring in his Favour, the *Campaign* ended without any considerable Disadvantage on his Side; yet he had not fail'd to make use of his utmost dexterity to bring the *Confederates* to a *General Treaty of Peace*: He had, in vain, apply'd himself to the *States of Holland*, to the Duke of *Savoy*, to the King of *Portugal*, and others; and it was no difficult Matter, upon the least Intimation of a probability of Success, to bring him to make the like Application to the *British Court*: How this was brought to pass, and by what Agents, whether by Application from hence, or by Application from thence, the Facts stand too near in time for any Author with safety to follow Truth so close at the Heels.

It may suffice to record, That about the Month of *September* two Persons were admitted to come hither from *France*, in order to lay the Platform of the desired Treaty; we may do the *French* that Justice, as to own, That if the *English Court* were not to

be drawn in to Conclude and Sign Articles of *Peace* for themselves, previous to the *General Treaty* propos'd, and seperate from the rest of their Allies; it 'twas not for want of the utmost Endeavour, most tempting Proposals, extraordinary Dexterity, and Address of the *French* Agents employ'd here; nor can we entirely clear the *French* from a Suggestion, very much to the Disadvantage of their Integrity, which was, of industriously spreading Abroad, as well in *Holland* as in *England*, a Report, That the *English* had made a *seperate Peace*; whether the *French*, if they had any Hand in this, did it with a Design to draw some of the other *Confederates* into the like Snare, we cannot determine.

However, the *French* Agents were disappointed in their Expectation; the End here was fully answer'd, and the *English Ministry* brought the *French* to Sign and Deliver Proposals, and to Request Her Majesty to procure a *General Treaty* with the *Allies* at the same Time, Entering into no *Engagements* with *France* of any Kind, farther than a *Verbal Promise* to communicate the said Proposals to the *Allies*, and to influence them, as far as might be, to consent to a *Treaty*.

It cannot be amiss, however, to note what Use was made of this Step; how near it went to have cross'd the whole *Scheme* of the *Ministry*; and to have defeated them in the

the *Great End* they aim'd at, viz. of *Establishing themselves*, which indeed, as before, was the main Design of Embracing the *Proposals* atall, as was apparent on many Occasions.

But the other Party took Fire at the *Proposals*, and, Allarming all our own People first, they quickly spread the Jealousy among the *Allies*; and it became, at once, a received Opinion, That the Queen of *Great Britain* was a going to make a *Seperate Peace* with *France*.

We cannot say but the *Policy* appear'd on this Side also, for *Trick* and *Cunning* run too much thro' the Measures of both: The first wrong Step taken here was this; The *French* had deliver'd *Proposals* to the *English* for a *General Treaty*, drawn up in several Heads, containing what they would do at a *Treaty* to bring to pass the *Repose of Christendom*. I should not need to have publish'd the *Proposals* here, as they relate to the *Peace*, for that is not the Business of these Sheets, but as they relate to the *Management of Parties* here; and as I shall be oblig'd to say much of them afterwards, it is necessary they should be handed down with the *Story*, that *Posterity* may see what *Trifles* assisted to embarras this distracted *Age*. The *Proposals* are as follow:

Seven Articles propos'd on the Part of France, for effecting a General Peace; communicated to the Foreign Ministers residing here. Done at London, September 27. 1711.

First, The most Christian King declares, That he will acknowledge the Queen of Great Britain in that Quality, as also the Succession of that Crown according to the present Settlement.

Secondly, That he will freely and BONA-FIDE consent to the taking of all just and reasonable Measures for hindering that the Crowns of France and Spain may never be united on the Head of the same Prince; His Majesty being persuaded that this Excess of Power would be contrary to the Good and Quiet of Europe.

Thirdly, The King's Intention is, that all the Parties engag'd in the present War, without excepting any of them, may find their reasonable Satisfaction in the Treaty of Peace which shall be made: That Commerce may be re-establish'd and maintain'd for the future, to the Advantage of Great Britain, of Holland, and
of

of the other Nations, who have been accustomed to exercise Commerce.

Fourthly, *As the King will likewise maintain exactly the Observation of the Peace, when it shall be concluded, and the Object the King proposes to himself being to secure the Frontiers of his Kingdom, without disturbing in any manner whatever the Neighbouring States; He promises to agree, by the Treaty which shall be made, that the Dutch shall be put into Possession of the Fortify'd Places which shall be mention'd in the Netherlands, to serve hereafter for a Barrier, which may secure the Quiet of the Republick of Holland against any Enterprize from the part of France.*

Fifthly, *The King consents likewise, that a secure and convenient Barrier should be form'd for the Empire, and for the House of Austria.*

Sixthly, *Notwithstanding Dunkirk cost the King very great Sums, as well to acquire it, as to fortify it; and that 'tis further necessary to be at very considerable Expence for razing the Works, his Majesty is willing, however, to engage to cause them to be demolish'd immediately after the Conclusion of the Peace;*

on Condition, that, for the Fortifications of that Place, a proper Equivalent, **THAT MAY CONTENT HIM**, be given him: And as England cannot furnish that Equivalent, the Discussion of it shall be referr'd to the Conferences to be held for the Negotiation of the Peace.

Seventhly, When the Conferences for the Negotiations of the Peace shall be form'd, all the Pretensions of the Princes and States engag'd in the present War, shall be therein discuss'd bona fide and amicably: And nothing shall be omitted to regulate and terminate them to the Satisfaction of all the Parties.

The first Question which was started in the World, upon the appearance of these Proposals, was, whether the French intended them to be receiv'd as Preliminaries, in the Sense that Word is now of late accepted in: I cannot pretend to say they did; but this is most certain, that the Queen never understood them so.

But since the rest of the World run away with them as such, whether artfully or accidentally, I will not determine; and that the Dispute about this Matter, viz. Whether they were to be esteem'd Preliminaries or no, made such a Noise, it may be necessary to clear it up as we go; and First, It is
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to be enquir'd into, what is to be understood, or rather what was then understood by the Word *Preliminary*, that is, What was the *General Acceptation* of the Word : And to give you this as concisely as possible, and subject to as little Objection as we can, it cannot be back'd with better Authority than the particular *Memorial* of the *Electors of Hanover*, and the other *Publick Papers*, wherein it is thus express'd ;

Preliminaries which are to be the Ground of a Treaty ; Settling all Things by Preliminary, so as that there should be nothing to do at the General Congress but to give them the Form of a Treaty.

This was the *Sense* in which the Words were then understood : Such of the People at Home as were against the *Treaty* were most willing to call the *French Proposals Preliminaries* in this *Sense* ; and much Time and Pains was therefore spent in *Exposing* them, as of double *Entendre*, of doubtful *Construction*, capable of being so and so misunderstood on either Side, and leaving room to the *French Dexterity* of Evading the True and Genuine Design of the *Confederates*.

It cannot be deny'd but this was most true, if the *Proposals* of the *French* had been
so

so receiv'd, for they contain'd nothing but what was capable of such *General Construction* as any one pleas'd to turn them to: And this very Argument prov'd to others, that they could not be thought to be *Preliminaries* in the Sense as above; nay, the more imperfect and ambiguous they appear'd to be, as to such a *Construction*, the more unlikely and improbable it was that the *French* could expect, or the *British Court* could imagine, that the *Confederates* should receive them as *Preliminaries* of a *Treaty*.

As soon, therefore, as these *Objections* came Abroad, they seem'd to require no other Reply than to Publish them as *Proposals*, as they really were receiv'd, and to disown them as *Preliminaries*.

But the first Error had gone so far, and the *Confederates* had receiv'd such Impressions from hence, that the *British Court* had shewn them *foul Play*, and had accepted the said *Articles* as *Preliminaries* in the Sense above; that large *Representations* were made of it from Abroad, as well by the *States of Holland* as by the *Elector of Hanover*, but more especially the Emperour, then King of *Spain*, who appear'd highly mov'd, as it was said, and testify'd his Resentment, at his Landing at *Genoa*, to Mr. *Chetwynd*, the *English* Envoy, who came to Compliment him there, in Expressions less respectful to Her
Britannick

Britannick Majesty than might be expected from a Prince under so many Obligations as the Queen had laid on him. It seems King *Charles* might then think otherwise of himself than on former Occasions, when his Dependance on the Assistance which he Daily receiv'd from Her said Majesty oblig'd him to treat Her with the utmost Deference and Respect. But now, says the Author of this Story, he tells Her, That If Her Majesty thought fit to go on in this Manner, it would oblige him to take other Measures for his own Security; and that the Rest of the Confederates must and would do the like by his Example; Or to that Effect. After this, when he came to receive the *Proposals*, as above, and with the rest of the *Foreign Ministers* to mistake them for *Preliminaries* as aforesaid, we find him declaring against entering into any Treaty with *France* on that Foundation; and this in Terms so absolute, that he calls his Resolutions *Unalterable*, resolving to push forward the War with all imaginable Vigour: It is more at large to be seen in his Majesty's Letter to the States of *Holland*, and to the *Elector Palatine*, as follows:

THAT his Majesty did not question but that his Electoral Highness had been inform'd of the Preliminaries of Peace propos'd in England on the Part of France, (a Copy of

of which he subjoin'd) and was no less concern'd than his Majesty, that a Time when God had so largely bestow'd his Blessings on the Arms of the Allies, and when there was ground to hope, to reduce the Enemy within just Bounds, for the securing the Tranquillity of Europe, that Crown should offer such Proposals, which had not been only hearken'd to at London, but also had been communicated in Form, the 9th of October, to Count Gallas, Minister of his Majesty, by a Secretary of State, and propos'd in Holland as acceptable, with earnest Instances for entering into an Negotiation thereupon: That hitherto his Majesty had been unwilling to look upon this Precipitation as a Departing from the Aim and Intention of the Grand Alliance, seeing the Obligation the Allies are under, not to enter into any Negotiation of a Separate Peace, is sufficiently known by all the World, according to the Treaty of Alliance, and therefore was rather inclin'd to believe, that they had too easily given Credit to the Captious Proposals of the Enemy, tho' they were not so well varnish'd as others had been; for every one perceiv'd, at first Sight, that hardly any one thing in them was clearly express'd, and that the Enemy's Design was to gain Time, by a long Negotiation, as well for Recovering themselves, as for Dividing the Allies, which they have endeavour'd to do along Time since; that it was not difficult to foresee the Consequences,

quences, if Men would only consider, with Attention, that since, with so great Effusion of Blood, and such unconceivable Expences, the United Forces of the Allies have not yet been able to obtain the Principal End of this War, that is, the common Security and Tranquillity of Europe, what more can be expected from a Separate Treaty, or its Execution, than what has happen'd in respect to the solemn Oaths of the Renunciation at the Pyrenees, and other Engagements, which were to be Perpetual, and especially when the French shall be Masters of the Forces of Spain, Indies, and all the Commerce.

As for us (continues the Emperor) we hope the Contrary, and are entirely perswaded, that you will be of the same Opinion; insomuch, that you will not only Oppose these Designs, that are pernicious to the Common Cause, according to your renowned Zeal for your Country; but also, that you will powerfully use your great Credit with the Electors and States of the Empire, and also with the States General of the United Netherlands, and other Allies, as we affectionately desire of you by the near Tie of Blood that is between us, that they may all persevere together in the Engagements of the Alliance, and in the necessary Union, for Obtaining an Advantageous and Solid Peace, and that in England they may, following this laudable Example, desist from such Thoughts as are contrary,
and

and entertain such as are conformable thereunto.

In the mean Time we have undertaken an irrevocable Resolution to undergo whatever may come of it, and to exert all our Efforts for the Good of the Common Cause, exposing even our own Person rather than consent to the Sending of any one in our Name, to assist in a partial Negotiation, entirely ruinous for our Dear Country, and the Liberty of all Europe; and which we could not answer to our Archducal House.

We have thought fit to represent you these Things without Delay, as to an Elector and an Ally, so particularly Interested in this War, to the End you may assist us with your Counsel and Endeavours for the Strengthening of the Grand Alliance, for which We and our Archducal House will preserve an Eternal Gratitude, &c.

I might give you several other Proofs of this general Mistake, as well from Authors who, both Abroad and at Home, wrote upon the Subject, and exclaim'd loudly against these Articles, as Preliminaries, as also several other Letters of his said Catholick Majesty to other Persons, as to the States of Holland, to the other Electors, &c. but this may suffice

All these prove, undeniably, the general Acceptation of those Proposals at that time,

as

as aforesaid; whether it was at first Accidentally or Politickly done by our People here, as I said before, I do not determine.

The next Case, therefore, was for the Government here to explain themselves, how these Proposals were understood by them, and how they expected their Allies should understand them; and this was done so effectually, that at last the *Emperor* seeing, at the same time, the *Treaty* would be actually carry'd on without him, thought fit to comply.

But when this Difficulty seem'd, in a Manner, clear'd up, another no less Dangerous, tho' perhaps as Artificially contriv'd, and as Successful, in its Mischief appear'd, *viz.* *That the Peace was already made.*

This was a new Scarecrow: If I do not give an Account of the Effect it had, both Abroad and at Home, it is rather to conceal the Folly of it, than that the Thing was not of very ill-Consequence: It was improv'd at Home to promote the *Dissatisfactions*, which were already great enough, at the Proceedings towards a *Treaty*: The Condition of the Nation was at this time very *Unhappy*; and the Forwardness of the People to *Insult* and *Quarrel* at every Thing, made even those Things they had least reason to object against, appear worse than they were: The general *Management* carry'd with it an appearance of something *Secret*; and the People Univer-

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fally Jealous of the *Court*, thought there was a *Private Aim* which none could penetrate in every Thing they did, and therefore frequent Conjectures were made as Men's *Passions* and *Prejudices* guided them.

It is an unhappy Circumstance to be render'd generally suspected, for that whatever is done under that *Dilemma*, that will admit two Constructions, always receives the worst. It is true, the *Court* aim'd at a *Peace*, and their Reasons for it were so pressing, that it was apparent they would abate much of the Terms to bring it to pass; their Circumstances at Home made it Necessary, as is noted before; yet, that from hence it was Rational to suppose they would give up all; that they were in the Interest of *France*; that they design'd to bring in the *Prétender*; that they were resolv'd to rescind the Succession; these were all Extrems the other Way, and artfully made use of by those who were agianst a *Peace*, for the same Reasons for which the *Ministry* were for it; so that, in short, the Scheme of the *Strife* lay in this short Point.

The *Ministry* were for a *Peace*, because they should then be freed from the Weight that embarras'd them every Year, viz. Of Finding *Funds*; Keeping up *Credit*; and Borrowing great Sums of *Money*: And to this End also be subjected to the *Triennial Danger* of having an Election of *Parliament* go
against

against them, whereby they might be check'd in the *Management of Publick Affairs*; whereas, if the *War* was once over, there would be little Need of Supplies, and by Consequence, less Need of *Parliaments*; short Sessions, and little Business, would, in Time, make Calling *Parliaments* less frequent, and the *Court* would be under no Difficulties for the *Managing the Government*; the Annual Support of the *Crown* was settled, and the Forces to be left Standing were but small, so that, in short, the *Ministry* having once ended the *War*, were establish'd; effectually past any *Difficulties*; any *Intreagues*; or any *Accidents* Intervening to hurt them.

The *Party* who were displac'd, convinc'd of all this, and too Wise not to see the Design, left no Stone unturn'd, as above, to make all the Notion of a *Treaty* appear *dis-honourable*; to do this they suggest that there was a Concert with *France*; that the *Ministry* had made a private *Bargain*; that *Spain*, for which so much Blood had been lost, was to be given up to the *French*; and, at last, in short, that the *Treaty* was but a Sham; a meer *Ignis Fatuus*; a *Grimace* between the *English* and the *French*, and that the *Peace* was made already.

It was very hard to beat the first Suspicions of this out of the Heads of the People; it was argu'd against strenuously, by

one Author, upon an Argument taken from a *Fast-Day*, which the Queen had just then appointed to be kept: Wherein the Words run thus;

That a Publick Fast be Observ'd, that so both we and our People may humble our selves before Almighty God, in Order to obtain Pardon for our Sins; and may, in most devout and solemn Manner, send up our Prayers and Supplications to his Divine Majesty to avert those heavy Judgments which our many Sins and Provocations have most justly deseru'd; and for Imploring his Blessing on that intended Treaty, that thereby may be produc'd an Honourable, Secure, and Lasting Peace to Us, and the Nations and States in Alliance with us; and that he will be pleas'd to give his Blessing and Assistance on the Arms of Us and our Allies, our and their Forces, both by Sea and Land, 'till our Enemies shall submit to such a Peace. Vid. Proclamation.

This it was argu'd must either prove, That there was no such Thing as a *Seperate Peace* already concluded, or they must all agree to think the Queen a *Pagan*, a *Mocker of God*, and a *Despiser of all Religion*: That Her Majesty should Order the whole Nation to pray to God for a Blessing upon the Negotiation of the Treaty, that a *Safe, Honourable, and Lasting Peace may be the Issue;*

Issue; (these are the very Words) If that Peace were settled already, that God would bless and assist the Forces of Her Majesty and Her Allies, in Order to push the Enemy, 'till he will submit to such a Peace, (the very Words again;) If the Peace was made, and no Forces to be more employ'd, this would be such a horrid Thing, that it could not enter into the Thoughts of any reasonable Person to suspect such a Thing of the Queen.

However, these Arguments had some Effect, yet they were far from satisfying the People, or removing the Jealousy of those who were possess'd before with the Notion of it by the People, and for the Reasons abovesaid, 'till the Queen, alarm'd with the Reproach of it, and the Ministry seeing plainly the evil Consequences which might ensue, took Notice of it in a Message to the Parliament, then Sitting, January the 17th, 1711; as follows,

AT the Opening of this Session, Her Majesty acquainted Her Parliament, That both Time and Place were appointed for the Meeting of the Plenipotentiaries of all the Confederates, to Treat with those of the Enemy concerning a General Peace; and also express'd the Care which She intended to take of all Her Allies, and the strict Union in which She propos'd to join with them, in

Order to obtain a Good Peace, and to Guaranty and Support it when obtain'd.

Her Majesty can now tell you, That Her Plenipotentiaries are arriv'd at Utrecht, and have begun, in Pursuance of their Instructions, to concert the most proper Ways of Procuring a just Satisfaction to all in Alliance with Her; according to their several Treaties, and particularly with relation to Spain and the West-Indies.

You may depend on Her Majesty's Communicating to Her Parliament the Terms of Peace, before the same shall be concluded.

The World will now see how groundless those Reports are, which have been spread Abroad, by Men of Evil Intentions, to serve the worst Designs, as if a Separate Peace had been Treated, for which there has not been the least Colour given.

Her Majesty's Ministers have Directions to propose, That a Day may be fix'd for the Finishing, as was done for the Commencement of this Treaty, and in the mean Time, all the Preparations are hastening for an early Campagne. Vid. Queen's Message, Jan. 17, 1711.

This did the Work effectually, the Thing was now dropt at once, and the People began to be easy as to this Point, and yet I will not Compliment them so much as to say they were made so by the meer Confidence in Her Majesty's Affection, the
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Times were too diffident, and the usual Dialect of the *Parties* coarse enough to give a Man Occasion to hear even both Sides cry out, *They would not believe it any Thing the more for what had been said*; but Two Things stop'd the Mouth of this Piece of Clamour.

1. The Nearness of the *Treaty* when the Thing must inevitably come to a Demonstration; and when all the *Plenipotentiaries* being to meet, if there were any Concessions made to *France*, by the *British Court*, the other *Parties* who might think themselves agriev'd by them, would not fail, loudly to complain of it, and so it would have a Confirmation too plain to be contradicted. The next was,

2. The Promise the Queen made, in Her Message above, to lay the Heads of the *Treaty* before the *Parliament* for them to peruse, and, indeed, judge or approve of, before the same should be concluded; and to fix a short Day for the *French* to comply with what should be propos'd, or the *Treaty* to be put to a Conclusion.

These Two Things so either satisfy'd those who were dubious and indifferent, or stop'd the Mouths of those who were cla-

morous and quarrellsome, that we heard no more of the Notion of a *Seperate Peace* being made in *England*: Yet, that this Thing may be left a little plainer to Posterity than the People, at this Time, could be inform'd of it, I may venture to say thus much of what was done by Way of secret Transaction, and which, I must own, I do not see that any room was left for any one at Home to complain of it neither.

The *French* having try'd, in vain, to bring the *Confederates* to a *General Treaty*, and to lay aside the *Preliminaries*, which were as so many Fetters upon them, that had hamper'd and lock'd them up to such Severities, as they judg'd equal to the Ruin of their *Monarch*, had chosen Twice to venture All rather than to comply with that Method of *Treating*.

But their Necessity of a *Peace* encreasing, and the Misfortunes of the *War* pressing them hard, they behov'd to try it, by making larger Concessions to One Branch of the *Confederacy*, than they had made in General, to see if, thereby, they could induce that Branch to espouse Thoughts of a *Peace*, and concern themselves to bring it to pass, The late *Convulsions* in *England*; the *Breach* among *Parties*; *Revolution* in *Ministry*; *Dissatisfactions* among the *People*; and in general, the great Turn given to the *Affairs* of our *Government*, gave them but too much Reason

Reason to hope they might fix their Project here ; the Occasion the *Ministry* here found, *as before*, to disengage themselves from the Embarrassments of the War, in Order to the Establishing themselves, and Defeating the Outed-Party, as has been at large set down, administer'd room enough for the *French* to make the Attempt, and they were too wise to slip the Occasion.

Accordingly, as has already been laid down, *Proposals* are made by *France*, and receiv'd by Her Majesty ; and the Queen so far comes into the *French* Desire to agree to offer those *Proposals* to the *Allies*, and do all the good Offices She could, or use Her Interest with the *Allies* to bring them to a *Treaty*, where, if his most Christian Majesty would come Resolv'd, by his *Plenipotentiaries*, to make such *Concessions* and *Propositions*, as might be satisfactory to the *Allies*, it was not to be doubted but a good *Peace* might ensue.

To say, That, in Order to bring the Queen of *Great Britain* to this, it was not Just and Reasonable not only to assure Her Majesty, That Her Subjects should find their Interest in it, was as much as to say, That all the *Allies* should receive Satisfaction but Her Majesty : Nor could *France* expect that the *British Ministry* would appear for this *Treaty*, unless *France* had descended to such *Proposals* for such Advantages to *Britain*,
without

without Prejudice to the rest of the *Allies*, as the Queen might have Reason to be satisfy'd with ; whereupon there is no doubt but *France* enter'd into some Detail of particular Satisfactions and Advantages for *Britain*, which, at a general *Treaty*, she would yield to Her *Britannick Majesty*, and that She might engage to this, at the same Time. The Queen, or the *British Ministry*, Engaging to nothing more than this, That they would endeavour to procure a general *Treaty* ; and that if, at the *General Treaty*, all the rest of the *Allies* might receive full Satisfaction in their just Demands, that then, indeed, Her Majesty would not stick Out. And thus the Whole of a *Private Treaty* amounted to this, That *France* was under Engagements to the Queen, but that the Queen was under none to him.

Nor did it appear that these *Engagements* could ever amount to more, than what respected *Possessions of Ports* ; *Advantages of Commerce* ; and *Disposition of Countries* in the *Spanish West-Indies*, for the Encrease of the *Wealth, Strength, Naval Power, and Trade of Britain* ; and the like.

I am now giving the clearest Scheme I can of Things as they stood before the *Treaty* begun, and I find it needful to that Purpose to do so, because that, tho' these Things may no more seem a Mystery after the *Treaty*, when every Thing appears in its proper

proper Place, and with a true Light, yet it is impossible to account for the various Disorders and Perplexities which agitated the Minds of the People at this Time, but by laying open the secret History of the Two or Three Months preceding the *Treaty*, from which so many various Incidents had their View, tho', in their Effects, they had no relation either to the *Treaty*, or to the *Peace* it self, which was to follow.

I return, therefore, to the *Parties*: I left off at Telling you how the Message of the Queen to the Two Houses, the Nearness of the *Treaty* it self, and the Necessity of a few Days Discovering the Truth of Things, hush'd and damp'd the Forwardness of those People, who had affirm'd the *Peace* to be already made. It's necessary, now, that I go back a little to the Affairs of the Parliament, that is to say, so far as they are link'd with the present Case before us, viz. The Strife of the *Parties*.

The first Appointment for the Meeting of the Parliament was on the 13th of Nov. 1711, as by the Proclamation, but, by Two or Three Adjournments, they were put off. The *Peace* being the Great Thing in Agitation at that Time, and the *Ministry*, for the Reasons aforesaid, having good Grounds to push on the Forming a *Treaty*, no Body will doubt but they had the same Reasons for the Preventing any warm Resolutions

lutions which might pass in either House to the Prejudice of the said *Treaty* in View; and this, perhaps, might make them keep the Meeting of the Houses in some Suspence 'till they had, by due Enquiry, Information, and Calculation; a Thing commonly in Use, and known by the Phrase of Telling Noses, and Trying the Strength of the Houses; made a due Judgment of what they might expect when the Houses met. It is true, the Town discover'd some Uneasiness, and People said, They were afraid to let the Parliament Sit, &c. but the *Ministry*, not Regarding the Clamours of a Few, went on their own Way 'till they thought themselves Safe, and then the Houses were allow'd to Meet.

At their first Meeting Her Majesty laid before them the State of Things relating to the Treaty of *Peace* in View. I need make no Comment upon the Manner when the Words are so plain, and therefore give it you in the Queen's own Words thus;

I Am glad that I can now tell you, that notwithstanding the Arts of those who delight in War, both Place and Time are appointed for Opening the Treaty of a General Peace.

Our *Allies* (especially the States General) whose Interest I look upon as inseparable from my own, have by their ready Concurrence, express'd their entire Confidence in Me, and

I have no Reason to doubt but that my own Subjects are assur'd of my particular Care of them.

My Chief Concern is, That the Protestant Religion, and the Laws and Liberties of these Nations, may be continu'd to you, by Securing the Succession to the Crown as it is limited by Parliament to the House of Hanover.

I shall endeavour that after a War which has cost so much Blood and Treasure, you may find your Interest in Trade and Commerce, improv'd and enlarg'd by a Peace, with all other Advantages which a Tender and Affectionate Sovereign can procure for a Dutiful and Loyal People.

The Princes and States which have been engag'd with us in this War, being by Treaties entitl'd to have their several Interests secur'd at a Peace, I will not only do my utmost to procure every one of them all reasonable Satisfaction, but I shall also Unite with them in the strictest Engagements, for Continuing the Alliance in Order to render the General Peace Secure and Lasting.

The best Way to have this Treaty effectual will be to make early Provision for the Campaign, therefore I must ask of you, Gentlemen of the House of Commons, the Necessary Supplies for the next Year's War, and I do most earnestly recommend to you to make such Dispatch therein, as may Convince our Enemies, that if We cannot obtain a good Peace,
We

We are prepared to carry on the War with Vigour.

Whatever you give will be still in your own Power to apply, and I doubt not, but in a little Time, after the Opening of the Treaty, We shall be able to Judge of its Event.

As I have had your Cheerful Assistance for the Carrying on this long and chargeable War, so I assure My self, that no true Protestant, or good Subject will envy Britain or Me, the Glory and Satisfaction of Ending the same by a Just and Honourable Peace for Us and all our Allies.

Vid. Queen's Speech Decemb. 7th, 1711.

Upon the Houses Entering into the Affair it was immediately seen which Way Things would go: The Commons fell in chearfully with the Thing; thank'd Her Majesty for Communicating it to them; left it to Her prudent Conduct; and, in short, evidently shew'd, that the Court would meet with no Opposition, in the Affair of the *Treaty*, on that Side, as may be seen by the following Words of their Address;

WE Your Majesty's most Dutiful and Loyal Subjects, the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled, beg Leave to return our Sincere and Hearty Thanks for your Majesty's

Majesty's most Gracious Speech from the Throne ; wherein your Majesty, by expressing your great Care and Concern, in so particular a Manner, for the Protestant Religion, which, above all Things, is most dear to Us ; for those Laws and Liberties, which make Us peculiarly Happy above other Nations ; and for the Succession of the House of Hanover, as limited by Parliament, upon which the future Security of our Religion, Laws, and Liberties, depends ; has given Us a fresh Demonstration, That your Majesty has nothing so much at Heart, as the Safety and Happiness of your People.

Having an entire Confidence in your Majesty's Wisdom and Goodness, in your Honour and Justice to your Allies, and in your particular Care of Your own Subjects, We cannot but express Our Satisfaction in what Your Majesty has been pleased to declare, of the Just and Honourable Peace your Majesty has in View.

This was the End for which Your Majesty entred into the War ; and nothing can add more to the Glory of Your Reign, than, after the many unparallel'd Successes in the Course of this War, to have Your Majesty conclude it with the Blessing of such a Peace ; which, We cannot doubt, will be rendred Secure and Lasting, by Your Majesty's pursuing the Wise Resolution You have taken, of Entering into the strictest Engagements for Continuing the Alliance to that End. And

And We presume to assure Your Majesty, We will take all possible Care to preserve that Unanimity Your Majesty has recommended to Us, and use our utmost Endeavours to disappoint, as well the Arts and Designs of Those, who, for private Views, may delight in War, as the Hopes the Enemies may have vainly entertain'd, of receiving Advantage from any Division among Us.

We entirely concur with Your Majesty, That the best Way to bring this Treaty to Good Effect, is to make an early Provision for the next Campagne; for which Purpose, notwithstanding the heavy Burdens, which, during this long and expensive War, Your Majesty's Subjects have undergone, We will, with the greatest Alacrity, grant such effectual and speedy Supplies, as shall enable Your Majesty to carry on the War with Vigour, and convince Your Enemies, if the intended Negotiations should prove Ineffectual, That no Amusements, or Attempts whatsoever, can alter Our Firm and Stedfast Resolution of Supporting the Best of Sovereigns in Carrying on so Just a War, till a Safe, Lasting, and Honourable Peace may be procur'd for Your Majesty and all Your Allies. Vid. the Commons Address December 10, 1711.

The Lords Address was well and wisely Worded; gave Her Majesty Thanks, as the Commons had done before, for Her Communicating to them the Steps taken towards

a Peace; and for Her Concern for all Her Allies; and the like: But, at last, they close the said Address with a Clause, which pass'd to be added to the Address, about the Giving the Spanish Dominion to the House of Austria; as appears in the following Copy of their Address.

WE Your Majesty's most Dutiful and Loyal Subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament Assembled, do, with Hearts full of Gratitude and Loyalty to Your Sacred Majesty, beg Leave to Return Your Majesty our most Humble and Hearty Thanks and Acknowledgments for Your Majesty's most Tender and Affectionate Concern for all Your People, express'd in Your Majesty's most Gracious Speech from the Throne; and for Imparting to us Your Majesty's Desires of Ending this present War by a Peace Advantageous to Your Subjects, and Just and Honourable for Your Majesty and all Your Allies; as also for Your Majesty's Expressing so particular a Regard for the Interest of the States General, as inseparable from Your own; and that Your Majesty is Graciously pleas'd to Assure us, it is Your Chief Concern, that the Protestant Religion, and the Laws and Liberties of these Nations, may be Continued to Your People, by Securing the Succession to the Crown, as it is limited by Parliament to the House of Hanover; and

H

that

that Your Majesty is pleas'd to shew so Just a Resolution to Procure a Satisfaction for all the Allies, being by Treaties Entitled to have their several Interests Secured at a Peace, and to Unite them in the Strictest Engagements, in Order to render the Peace Secure and Lasting.

And we do beg Leave to Represent it to Your Majesty, as the humble Opinion and Advice of this House, That no Peace can be Safe or Honourable to Great Britain or Europe, if Spain and the West-Indies are to be Allotted to any Branch of the House of Bourbon.

This, tho' not in its Appearance of so much Consequence as to shock the Court in their *Management*; yet, as it was carry'd on by One Side, and arm'd against by the Other, was the Introduction to many great and uncommon Scenes of *Politicks*, which appear'd, and shew'd themselves upon the Stage of *Parties* immediately after; a short Scetch of which it cannot be unnecessary to our Purpose to lay down; since it will be very hard to know, without it, from whence came all the *Mischiefs* and *Miseries* that are inevitably to follow.

As the Appearance of the Houses discover'd the *State* and *Strength* of the *Parties* to us without Doors, so it discover'd it also to the *Parties* themselves. The Late Ministry,

nistry, or *Outed-Party*, found they had nothing to expect from the *Commons*, where it was apparent they had lost their *Interest* by the popular Methods aforesaid; but in the *Upper-House* they had Hopes of Forming an *Interest* which might be able to make some Stand, and might give a Check to the *Fury* and *Heat* with which the *New Ministry* went on; and therefore they apply'd themselves wholly to cultivate and form this *Interest*, in Order to stop the Current of the *Opposite Party*, as Things should come before the House.

To fortify this *Interest* that Unhappy Step was taken, which *Posterity* will feel the Effects of for many Ages to come, *viz.* Of Abandoning the *Dissenters* to the Extremity they so often struggled with; I mean the *Occasional Bill*; it may be true, that *Posterity* may never be able to come at all the *Arcana* of this *Management*; yet I can by no means lay a true Ground Plot of the Ensuing State of Things, as it respects the *Dissenters*, unless I give some Account of both how it came to be brought now on the *Stage* at this Time; and how, by the particular Persons that now appear'd for it, Things equally mysterious and unaccountable; the true Account of which, as they are not yet thoroughly discover'd to the World, so it is very likely they never may.

I need not go back here to acquaint the

Reader with what the Meaning of the Word, or of the Thing, was, or with the History of the sundry *Attempts* to bring in a Law against the *Occasional Conformity of Dissenters*; nor can it be reasonable to suggest, that I am Writing to Persons so ignorant in the *Affairs* of the Times, because, to such, most of the other Parts of this Book will be neither Instructing or Entertaining.

It may suffice to note here, That there was always a *Party*, in either House, who had been so forward on all Occasions to introduce the *Occasional Bill* against the *Dissenters*, that it was well known they only wanted the Opportunity, which they would be very forward to embrace: It was as well known that the *Juncto*, or *Whigg* Lords, or *Late Ministry*, call them by which Name you please, had, upon all Occasions, stood by the *Dissenters*; oppos'd that *Bill*; and defended the *Interests* and *Liberties* of the *Dissenters*, as a Branch of the *Constituted Liberties* of the Nation; and as, what they always alleaged, could not be overthrown without a *general Invasion* of the National Privileges of the People; and Breaking in upon the *Revolution*.

It was *no less* certain, that 'till these Two Contraries, which were no less so than the hottest *Tories*, and most violent *Whiggs*, should meet, both in *Principle* and in *Interest*, they could never meet in *Practice*, and, consequently, that the *Occasional Bill* could never

never pass, but over the Bellies of the *Latter*; But that, whenever such a *Conjunction* of Opposites should happen, the *Occasional Bill* would be the first Step they would take in Concert, and that *Union* must end in the Ruin of the *Interest* of the *Dissenters*.

At this *Unhappy Juncture* this fortuitous Meeting fell out. While the *Whigg Lords*, joyning together in their Opposing the Measures taken by the *Ministry* for the Carrying on a *Treaty of Peace*, yet found some who, tho' on the contrary extream in the Affair of Parties, were yet of the same Opinion as to the War, and whom they thought easy to be brought to joyn in Measures to carry on that Opposition: They therefore made no Scruple to make Advances to these, and to lay their former Disputes aside, in Order to carry on a present Quarrel at the Publick. The Party that did this had been supported in all their Interests by the *Dissenters*, and had found the *Dissenters* the true dead Weight on their Side, upon all Occasions, by Voting for them in all Elections; by Turning the Scale in the Cases of Magistrates; Members; Banks; Companies, &c. by Supporting Credit; and Supplying infinite Sums of Money upon their Funds on all Occasions; and, as may be well said, even without Funds, many Hundred Thousand Pounds, whereof they are not paid to this Day, and, perhaps,

never shall be paid, and therefore this was the more Surprizing. But this may be more proper in another Place; I shall allude a little to it by Transcribing to you a little short Paper which was handed about in Manuscript at that Time, call'd, *A Speech of a Stone Chimney-Piece*, which alludes to this very Transaction, some Part of which was to this Purpose:

The Speech spoken by the Stone Chimney-Piece in the House of Lords.

THE Bill for — being read and committed, and no Lord offering to speak against it, on a sudden a great Noise was heard towards the Fire, and from a Crack in the *Chimney-Piece* these Words were audibly heard.

Wonder not, my Lords, when you sit mute, like Statues of Stone, that I speak. I am now a Peer, and since you, with Hearts harder than Rocks, can tamely abandon those poor Creatures who have trusted to your Protection, without Saying one Word for them, my softer Stone cannot any longer keep Silence.

I have often been Witness, my Lords, to the Zeal and Passion with which some of you have defended their Causes. I heard, with Pleasure, those Reverend Prelates, those Noble

ble Patriots plead for them, and now I see them Sit more unconcern'd than my self.

For God's sake, my Lords, what meant your former Zeal? Or what means your present Indolence? Were you in the Wrong when you Oppos'd what now you Consent to? Or are you now in the Wrong in Consenting to what you before reckon'd the greatest Act of Violence and Oppression? Speak, my Lords; a Reason of your Change is due from you.

Here was a long Pause, and all Silent; What Silent still! I conjure you by your Honours, my Lords, to speak; here was another Pause; and yet Silent, what Silent still! Oh! Shameful Change! Will not the Sense of Honour move you more than Statues? Hearken then to me and I will reprove you.

I will not, my Lords, tell all that I have heard you whisper while you loll'd on me, in your late unnatural Caresses; I will not expose you too far, but I have not been totally Deaf, I heard what pass'd when you sold your Friends, and sold them for Nought, for a Vote, for a single Worthless Vote, that will desert you in the Matter you depend upon it for, and so return upon you a just Retribution.

Was this, my Lords, an Equivalent for those that had always stood by you; that had endur'd Mobbing; Plundering; Burning; and all Manner of Abuses for your Sakes; Is it possible that, after all this, they should

never shall be paid, and therefore this was the more Surprizing. But this may be more proper in another Place; I shall allude a little to it by Transcribing to you a little short Paper which was handed about in Manuscript at that Time, call'd, *A Speech of a Stone Chimney-Piece*, which alludes to this very Transaction, some Part of which was to this Purpose:

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Was this, my Lords, an Equivalent for those that had always stood by you; that had endur'd Mobbing; Plundering; Burning; and all Manner of Abuses for your Sakes; Is it possible that, after all this, they should

be thus surrender'd without one Word for them? Who, my Lords, will depend on you after this? Who will move a Finger or Lip in your Quarrel? Depend upon it, you will miss your Aim; you have ruin'd your own Interest, and have lost the Honour of your former Integrity. With what Regret will you reflect on this Day's Action, when you shall find your selves the Jest of those that decoy'd you, and the Scorn of those that you have abandon'd? Think of this: Repent if you can, tho' it is too late: You can never Retrieve it.

But this is all a Digression, and with it I shall conclude this Unhappy Period: For now the Dissenters, being sacrific'd to the Projects of a Party, were given up by their Friends, and effectually crush'd by their Enemies; and the Occasional Bill, which had so often in vain been attempted, and had so often ruin'd the Party that attempted it, was now promoted by the Whiggs themselves, and pass'd without one Man Opening his Mouth against it, to the Ruin, not of the Interest of the Dissenters only, but to the Ruin of the Interest of the Whiggs in general, which, by this Means, was effectually divided and overthrown.

And here, because I have had, and shall have so much Occasion to speak of the said Occasional Bill, and for that this Book may come

come to be useful in many Places, where the said Bill is not to be seen, I think I can not rationally omit giving a Summary of the Bill it self, which is not long, and which, in all Probability, will be the Subject of so much Contention, and so many Complaints in the World; and with this I shall end the Chapter.

An Act for Preserving the Protestant Religion, by better Securing the Church of England, as by Law Established; and for Confirming the Toleration Granted to Protestant Dissenters by an Act Intituled, An Act for Exempting Their Majesties Protestant Subjects, Dissenting from the Church of England, from the Penalties of certain Laws, and for Supplying the Defects thereof; and for the further Securing the Protestant Succession, by Requiring the Practisers of the Law in North Britain to take the Oaths, and Subscribe the Declaration therein mentioned.

WHereas an Act was made in the Thirteenth Year of the Reign of the late King Charles the Second, Intituled, *An Act for the well Governing and Regulating of Corporations*; and another Act was made in the Five and Twentieth Year of the Reign of the said late King Charles the Second, Intituled, *An Act for the Preventing Dangers which may happen from Popish Recusants*; both which Acts were made for the Security of the Church of England, as by Law Established: Now, for the better Securing the said Church, and Quieting the Minds of Her Majesty's Protestant Subjects, Dissenting from the Church of England, and Rendering them Secure in the Exercise of their Religious Worship, as also for the further Strengthening the Provision already made for the Security of the Succession to the Crown in the House of Hanover, Be it Enacted, &c. That if any Person or Persons, after the Five and Twentieth Day of March, which shall be in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Twelve, either Peers or Commons, who have or shall have any Office or Offices, Civil or Military, or receive any Pay, Salary, Fee, or Wages, by Reason of any Patent or Grant from or under Her Majesty, or any of Her Majesty's Predecessors, or of Her Heirs or Successors,

Successors, or shall have any Command, or Place of Trust from or under Her Majesty, Her Heirs or Successors, or from any of Her Majesty's Predecessors, or by Her or their Authority, or by Authority derived from Her or Them, within that Part of *Great Britain* called *England*, the Dominion of *Wales*, or Town of *Berwick upon Tweed*, or in the Navy, or in the several Islands of *Jersey* or *Guernsey*, or shall be admitted into any Service or Employment in the Household or Family of Her Majesty, Her Heirs or Successors, or if any Mayor, Alderman, Recorder, Bayliff, Town-Clerk, Common-Council-Man, or other Person bearing any Office of Magistracy, or Place or Trust, or other Employment relating to or concerning the Government of any the respective Cities, Corporations, Boroughs, Cinque-Ports, and their Members, or other Port-Towns within that Part of *Great Britain* called *England*, the Dominion of *Wales*, Town of *Berwick*, or either of the Isles aforesaid, who by the said recited Acts, or either of them, were or are obliged to receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the Rites and Usage of the Church of *England*, as aforesaid, shall at any Time after their Admission into their respective Offices or Employments, or after having such Patent or Grant, Command or Place of Trust, as aforesaid, during his or their Continuance in such Office or Offices, Employment or Employments, or having such Patent or Grant, Command or Place of Trust, or any Profit or Advantage from the same, knowingly or willingly resort to, or be present at any Conventicle, Assembly or Meeting, within *England*, *Wales*, *Berwick upon Tweed*, or the Isles aforesaid, for the Exercise of Religion in other manner than according to the Liturgy and Practice of the Church of *England*, in any Place within that Part of *Great Britain* called *England*, Dominion of *Wales*, and Town of *Berwick upon Tweed*, or the Isles aforesaid, at which Conventicle, Assembly, or Meeting there shall be Ten Persons or more Assembled together, over and besides those of the same Household, if it be in any House where there is a Family Inhabiting, or if it be in an House or Place where there is no Family Inhabiting, then where any such Ten Persons are so Assembled, as aforesaid; or shall knowingly and willingly be present at any such Meeting in such House or Place, as aforesaid, although the Liturgy be there used, where Her Majesty (whom God long preserve) and the Princess *Sophia*, or such others as shall from Time to Time be Lawfully appointed to be Prayed for, shall not there be Prayed for in express Words according to the Liturgy of the Church of *England*, except where such particular

particular Offices of the *Liturgy* are used, wherein there are no express Directions to Pray for Her Majesty and the Royal Family, shall forfeit Forty Pounds, to be recover'd by him or them that shall sue for the same, by any Action of *Debt*, *Bill*, *Plaint*, or *Information* in any of Her Majesty's Courts at *Westminster*, wherein no *Essoign*, *Protection*, or *Wager of Law* shall be allowed, or any more than one *Impar lance*.

And be it further Enacted, That every Person convicted in any Action to be brought, as aforesaid, or upon any *Information*, *Presentment*, or *Indictment* in any of Her Majesty's Courts at *Westminster*, or at the *Affizes*, shall be disabled from thenceforth to hold such Office or Offices, Employment or Employments, or to receive any Profit or Advantage by reason of them, or of any Grant, as aforesaid, and shall be adjudged incapable to bear any Office or Employment whatsoever within that Part of *Great Britain* called *England*, the Dominion of *Wales*, or the Town of *Berwick upon Tweed*, or the Isles of *Jersey* or *Guernsey*.

Provided always, and be it further Enacted, &c. That if any Person or Persons, who shall have been Convicted, as aforesaid, and thereby made incapable to hold any Office or Employment, or to receive any Profit or Advantage by reason of them, or of any Grant, as aforesaid, shall, after such Conviction, Conform to the Church of *England*, for the Space of One Year, without having been present at any Conventicle, Assembly, or Meeting, as aforesaid, and Receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the Rites and Usage of the Church of *England*, at least Three times in the Year, every such Person or Persons shall be capable of the Grant of any the Offices or Employments aforesaid.

Provided also, and be it further Enacted, That every such Person so Convicted, and afterwards Conforming, in manner, as aforesaid, shall at the next Term after his Admission into any such Office or Employment, make Oath in Writing in some one of Her Majesty's Courts at *Westminster*, in Publick and Open Court, or at the next Quarter-Sessions for that County or Place where he shall Reside, between the Hours of Nine and Twelve in the Forenoon, That he hath Conformed to the Church of *England* for the Space of One Year before such his Admission, without having been present at any Conventicle, Assembly or Meeting, as aforesaid, and that he hath Received the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, at least Three Times in the Year; which Oath shall be there Enrolled and kept upon Record.

Provided, That no Person shall Suffer any Punishment for any Offence Committed against this Act, unless Oath be made

made of such Offence, before some Judge or Justice of the Peace (who is hereby Impowered and Required to take the said Oath) within Ten Days after the said Offence Comitted, and unless the said Offender be Prosecuted for the same within Three Months after the said Offence Committed; nor shall any Person be Convicted for any such Offence, unless upon the Oaths of Two Credible Witnesses at the least.

Provided always, That this Act, or any Thing therein contained, or any Offence against the same, shall not Extend or be Judged to take away, or make void any Office of Inheritance; nevertheless, so as such Person having or Enjoying any such Office of Inheritance, do or shall Substitute and Appoint his sufficient Deputy (which such Officer is hereby Impowered from time to time, to Make or Change, any former Law or Usage to the contrary notwithstanding) to Exercise the said Office, until such time as the Person having such Office, shall Conform, as aforesaid.

And it is hereby further Enacted and declar'd, &c. That the Toleration granted to Protestant Dissenters, by the Act made in the First Year of the Reign of King *William* and Queen *Mary*, Intituled, *An Act for Exempting Their Majesties Protestant Subjects, Dissenting from the Church of England, from the Penalties of certain Laws*, shall be, and is hereby Ratified and Confirmed, and that the same Act shall at all times be inviolably observed, for the Exempting of such Protestant Dissenters as are thereby intended, from the Pains and Penalties therein mentioned.

And for the rendring the said last mentioned Act more effectual, according to the true Intent and Meaning thereof, Be it further Enacted and Declared, &c. That if any Person Dissenting from the Church of England, (not in Holy Orders or pretended Holy Orders, or pretending to Holy Orders, nor any Preacher or Teacher of any Congregation) who should have been Entituled to the Benefit of the said last mentioned Act, if such Person had duly taken made, and Subscribed the Oaths and Declaration, or otherwise qualified him or herself, as required by the said Act, and now is or shall be prosecuted upon or by Virtue of any of the Penal Statutes, from which Protestant Dissenters are exempted by the said Act, shall at any time, during such Prosecution, take, make, and subscribe the said Oaths and Declaration, or being of the People called *Quakers*, shall make and subscribe the aforesaid Declaration, and also the Declaration of Fidelity, and subscribe the Profession of their Christian Belief according to the said Act, or before any Two of Her Majesty's Justices of the Peace (who are hereby required to Take and Return the same to the next Quarter-Sessions

Sessions of the Peace, to be there Recorded) such Persons shall be, and is hereby Entitled to the Benefit of the said Act, as fully and effectually, as if such Person had duly Qualified himself within the time Prescribed by the said Act, and shall be thenceforth Exempted and Discharged from all the Penalties and Forfeitures incurred by force of any the aforesaid Penal Statutes.

And whereas it is or may be Doubted whether a Preacher or Teacher of any Congregation of Dissenting Protestants, duly in all respects Qualified according to the said Act, be allowed by virtue of the said Act, to Officiate in any Congregation in any County, other than that in which he so Qualified himself, although in a Congregation or Place of Meeting, duly Certified and Registred as is required by the said Act; Be it Declared and Enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That any such Preacher or Teacher, so duly Qualified according to the said Act, shall be, and is hereby allowed to Officiate in any Congregation, although the same be not in the County wherein he was so Qualified; provided that the said Congregation, or Place of Meeting hath been before such Officiating, duly Certified and Registred, or Recorded according to the said Act: And such Preacher or Teacher, shall, if required produce a Certificate of his having so Qualified himself, under the Hand of the Clerk of the Peace for the County or Place where he so Qualified himself, which Certificate such Clerk of the Peace is hereby required to make; and shall also before any Justice of the Peace of such County or Place where he shall so Officiate Make and Subscribe such Declaration, and take such Oaths as are mentioned in the said Act, if thereunto required.

And be it further Enacted, &c. That on or before the Fifteenth Day of June next, all Advocates, Writers to the Signet, Notaries Publick, and other Members of the Colledge of Justice, within that Part of Her Majesty's Kingdom of Great Britain called Scotland, shall be and are hereby obliged to Take and Subscribe the Oath appointed by the Act of the Sixth Year of Her Majesty's Reign, Intituled, *An Act for the better Security of Her Majesty's Person and Government*, before the Lords of Session of the aforesaid Part of Her Majesty's Kingdom, Except such of the said Persons who have already taken the same: And if any of the Persons aforesaid, do or shall Neglect or Refuse to Take and Subscribe the said Oath, as aforesaid, such Person shall be *ipso facto* adjudged incapable, and disabled in Law to have, enjoy, or exercise in any manner his said Employment or Practice.

And

And be it further Enacted, &c. That in all time coming no Person or Persons, shall be admitted to the Employment of Advocate, Writer to the Signet, Notary Publick, or any Office belonging to the said College of Justice, until he or they have Taken and Subscribed the aforesaid Oath in manner as is above directed.





C H A P. III.

This Chapter gives an Account of the Attempt made immediately after Passing the Occasional Bill to introduce Toleration, and the Common-Prayer in Scotland ; with some Observations on the Injustice and Unreasonableness of that Design, how far it is or is not consistent with the Constitution of Scotland ; with the Priviledges of the Kirk ; and with the Articles of the Union : Also some little Enquiry at what may probably be the Consequence thereof.



THE Blow being struck in *England*, and the *Whigg* Lords having thrown away the *Scabbard*, all *Accommodation* between them and the *Ministry* was avowedly laid aside, and either Party prepar'd themselves to pursue

purſue thoſe Methods which they thought moſt immediately Conducing to the Mor-tification of the other without the leaſt Sup- poſition, that they might, hereafter, be in better Terms one with another.

As to the *Ministry* theſe Things made ve- ry little Alterations in the Meaſures they had taken, only drove them to the Neceſſity of making Uſe of other Hands ; *that is to ſay*, That whereas they would gladly have gone on with *Moderate Meaſures*, and, per- haps, with *Moderate Men* too, if they could have been found, they were now oblig'd to go more fully and effectually into the *High-Flying* or *Tory* Meaſures, and to take in Perſons of thoſe *Principles*, who, for their Want of Temper, they had always reſolv'd at leaſt to lay by, if not totally to drop out of the *Management*.

We are not to expect the *Tories* were not Men wiſe enough to know when their Turn was in, as well as other Men ; that they did not ſee that now was the Time when they were particularly uſeful ; and therefore, that they ought to take Care of themſelves ; that ſince the *Ministry* were not equally, as be- fore, in a Condition to deny them any Thing, now was the Time to make their Demands ; that now, if ever, was the Time when they might eſtabliſh the *High-Church*, and for ever trample down the *Whiggs*, their Oppoſers,

Opposers, and that if they let it slip they were never to expect such another.

Pursuant to this Notion, which was but too true, they took Care to lay about them, as we shall see, and having hurry'd off the *Occasional Bill*, and carry'd their Point in running down the *Dissenters*, as you have seen in the former Chapter, it behov'd them to strengthen their Alliance, by doing something for their Friends in *Scotland*; this will lead me in course to say something, by way of Introduction, to the State of Things in *Scotland*, at that Time, in which I shall be as brief as possible.

The *Union* had been but a few Years settled, and this was but the Second *Parliament* from the Joyning the Two *Kingdoms* in that Great Act of *Encorporation*, which was made firm and indissoluble, at least as much so as was in the Power of Man's Invention to Contrive, or of Human Laws to Confirm; it was the Peculiar of this *Union*, and what more especially pinch'd the *Jacobite Party* in *Scotland*, That it settled the *Presbyterian Church*, and the Succession of *Hanover*; and as these were both incompatible with the Interests of that *Party*, either as *Episcopal* in Principles, or as *Jacobite* in Politics, they watch'd their Opportunities, on all Occasions, to supplant the One that the Other might fall of Course; and both these were to be done by a Breach on the *Union*.

To effect this, the *Presbyterian Church* was to be attack'd first, whose *Securities* were very Shocking to the *Party*. This had been prepar'd for a long while by Reports and Calumnies spread continually about, of the Hardships suffer'd by the *Episcopal Clergy* in *Scotland* under the *Presbyterian Tyranny*, who deny'd, as they pretended, not *Toleration* only, in General, but Liberty of private Assembling together for the Worship of God to those of differing Perswasion from themselves.

It is too long a Work to come into this Tract to enter into the Particulars of the real *Conduct* of the Two Parties in *Scotland*, and thereby to confute the Reproaches cast upon the Church of *Scotland*, as to *Persecution*, which really had no Ground, nor was any such Thing true in *Scotland*; yet some Generals may be necessary here to do the Church of *Scotland* Justice in so notorious a Case, to leave upon Record for our Posterity to see how notoriously we broke F——th with our *United Brethren*, and how soon we made Infractions into that *Treaty*, which, with so much *Art*, *Difficulty*, and *Expence*, with so many *Promises*, *Protestations*, and *Pretences* of Love and Good Will to *Scotland*, we, the *English*, brought them to comply with; for, every one knows, they were backward enough to come into the *Union*; and the Queen's Speeches, as well

well to the Parliament as on other Occasions, at the Time of Passing, and during the Time of the *Treating* of the *Union*, and the Parliament's Addresses to the Queen on the same Occasion, are sufficient Evidences how considerable that Transaction was esteem'd to be among us here ; what Value our *Government* put upon it ; and how Earnest we were to bring it to pass.

In 1705 we find the Parliament, in their humble Address to Her Majesty, " Giving
 " Her their humble and hearty Thanks for
 " Her tender Regard to the Good and Welfare of Both Her Kingdoms of *England*
 " and *Scotland* ; (Note, *I observe this as the*
 " *first Time that ever an English Parliament*
 " *thank'd their Sovereigns for the Regard*
 " *they had to the Welfare or Advantage of*
 " *SCOTLAND*) for Her Great Care in Preserving the Succession of the Kingdom of
 " *Scotland* in the House of *Hanover*, and
 " for Preserving the Peace, and Promoting
 " the *UNION* of the Two Kingdoms.
 [Vid. *Commons Address*, Novem. 11, 1705.]

This was the Temper with which it was Introduc'd, to which I might have gone back, and added how the Parliament had, the Year before, Repeal'd an Act made in the last Session of the Former Parliament, entitled, *An Act to prevent the Dangers arising from the Act of Security in Scotland* ;

an Act which was, indeed, a Force upon *Scotland* to declare and joyn with *England* in the Settlement of the Succession to the Crown in the House of *Hanover*, and imply'd a *Declaration of War* against them if they did not, for it had order'd Twenty Two Men-of-War to be fitted out if the *Scots* did not declare themselves by the 22d of *Decem.* 1704, to interrupt their Commerce with *France*. This Act was so offensive to the *Scots*, and they look'd upon it as such an Encroachment upon their Independency, that they Declar'd, They could not Treat of an *Union* unless that Act was first Repeal'd. The *English Parliament*, on the other Hand, to shew their sincere Intentions, and the Temper they were in to Unite with *Scotland*, readily came in to the *Proposal*, and Repeal'd the said Act.

Thus far the Temper of the People appear'd forward to the *Union*: How earnest Her Majesty was to bring it to Perfection we shall best see by the following Evidences taken from Her own Mouth.

First, During the Carrying on the *Treaty* here, we find the Queen frequently Coming to see what Progress they made, always expressing Her earnest Desire to have it brought to pass, and what a Happiness She should esteem it to have that finish'd in Her Reign which had so often, in vain, been attempted in the Reign of Her Predecessors; and, to examine this a little, we shall find frequent Instances

Instances of it, particularly *Tuesday* the 21st of *May*, 1706, Her Majesty came to the Meeting of the Commissioners at the *Cock-Pit* at *Whitehall*, and, being Seated in Her Chair, spoke to the Lords Commissioners, as follows:

My Lords,

“ I Am so much concern’d for the *Union*
 “ of the Two Kingdoms, that I could
 “ not satisfy my self without Coming, be-
 “ fore I went out of Town, to see what
 “ Progress you have made in the *Treaty*,
 “ and to recommend, very earnestly, to you
 “ the Bringing it to a happy Conclusion
 “ with as much Dispatch as the Nature of
 “ it will admit, not Doubting of the gene-
 “ ral Satisfaction which my Subjects of
 “ Both Kingdoms will receive, in Finding
 “ you overcome all Difficulties to attain so
 “ great and publick a Good.

After this, tho’, every Night, an Account was laid before Her Majesty of what had been done in their Daily Meetings, yet Her Majesty came once or twice more to see the General Proceedings, and, as it were, to hasten them on. At last we came to the Great Period of that Part of the *Treaty* which was finished at *London*, viz. *Tuesday* the 23^d of *July*, 1706, when the whole Body of the Commissioners went with the

Indenture of the *Treaty*, Sign'd and Seal'd, to St. James's, and the Lord Keeper of *England* first making a Speech to Her Majesty, and then the Lord Chancellor of *Scotland* making another Speech, both on the Subject of the *Treaty*, the Lords Commissioners for Both Kingdoms presented to Her Majesty one of the Sign'd and Seal'd Instruments, or Writings, containing the Articles of *Union* on the Part of *England*; upon which Occasion Her Majesty was graciously pleas'd to make the following Speech:

My Lords,

I Give you many Thanks for the great Pains you have taken in this *Treaty*, and am very well pleas'd to find your Endeavours and Applications have brought it to so good a Conclusion; the Particulars of it seem so reasonable, that I hope they will meet with Approbation in the Parliaments of Both Kingdoms; I wish, therefore, that my Servants of *Scotland* may lose no Time in Going down to propose it to my Subjects of that Kingdom; and I shall always look upon it as a particular Happiness, if this Union (which will be so great a Security and Advantage to Both Kingdoms) can be accomplish'd in my Reign. [Vid. Collection of Original Papers relating to the Union. Folio 102.]

From

From this Time to the Month of *January*, 1707, we have the *Treaty* Carrying on in *Scotland*, of which it needs not that I should say much 'till afterwards ; but upon the Ratifying the *Treaty*, and Bringing it back to the Parliament, Her Majesty made the following Speech :

My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ **H**AVING acquainted you, at the Opening of this Session, that the *Treaty* for a *Union* between *England* and *Scotland*, which had been concluded here by the Commissioners appointed for that Purpose, in Pursuance of the Powers given by the Parliaments of Both Kingdoms, was then under the Consideration of the Parliament of *Scotland* ; I can now, with great Satisfaction inform you, that the said *Treaty* has been ratify'd by Act of Parliament in *Scotland* with some Alterations and Additions.

“ I have directed the *Treaty* agreed to by the Commissioners of Both Kingdoms, and also the Act of *Ratification* from *Scotland*, to be laid before you, and I hope it will meet with your Concurrence and Approbation.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

“ It being agreed by this *Treaty* that *Scotland* is to have an Equivalent for

“ what that Kingdom is oblig’d to contri-
 “ bute towards Paying the Debts of Eng-
 “ land, I must recommend to you that, in
 “ Case ye agree to the *Treaty*, you will
 “ take Care to provide for the Payment of
 “ the Equivalent to *Scotland* accordingly.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ You have now an Opportunity before
 “ you of putting the last Hand to a Happy
 “ *Union* of the Two Kingdoms, which, I
 “ hope, will be a lasting Blessing to the
 “ whole Island; a great Addition to its
 “ Wealth and Power; and a firm Security
 “ to the *Protestant Religion*.
 “ The Advantages which will accrue to
 “ us all, from the *Union*, are so apparent, that
 “ I will add no more, but that I shall look
 “ upon it as a particular Happiness if this
 “ great Work, which has so often been at-
 “ tempted without Success, can be brought
 “ to Perfection in my Reign. [Vid. *Queen’s*
 “ *Speech to the Parliament*, January the 9th,
 “ 1707.]

And when the Parliament of *England*,
 contrary to the general Expectation of the
 World, had brought this great Transaction
 to a Final End, then we shall find Her Ma-
 jesty of the same Opinion, and pressing Her
 People

People to put an equal Value on it with Herself, in the following Words.

I T is the greatest Satisfaction that I have given my Assent to a Bill for the Uniring England and Scotland into one Kingdom.

I consider this Union as a Matter of the greatest Importance to the Wealth, Strength, and Safety of the Whole Island, and, at the same Time, as a Work of so much Difficulty and Nicety in its own Nature that, 'till now, all Attempts which have been made towards it, in the Course of above 100 Years, have prov'd ineffectual, and therefore I make no Doubt but it will be spoke of, hereafter, to the Honour of those who have been Instrumental in Bringing it to so Happy a Conclusion.

I desire and expect from all my Subjects of Both Nations, that, from henceforth, they act with all possible Respect and Kindness to one another, that so it may appear to all the World they have Hearts dispos'd to become One People.

This will be a great Pleasure to me, and will make us all quickly sensible of the good Effects of this Union.

And I cannot but look upon it as a particular Happiness that in my Reign so full a Provision is made for the Peace and Quiet of my People, and for the Security of our Religion

gion by so firm an Establishment of the Protestant Succession throughout Great Britain. [Vid. Queen's Speech to the Parliament, March 6, 1704.]

I cannot think it improper to hint these Things, tho' it seems to load me too much with Quotations, that from the Height these Extasies of Zeal for the *Union* run at the Making thereof, we may view, with the more Wonder, the sudden Turn which the succeeding Circumstances of Affairs suffer'd in this Temper, and how it could be possible that the same Nation, the same Parliament, and in the Reign of the same Queen, could point all their Proceedings which related to *Scotland* so directly against that People, and that *Union* which they had courted and caress'd in such a Manner so little a while before.

he means by opposition, infractions of the spirit of the union established by the articles of Scotland.

I know it may be reply'd, and will occur most naturally, in the Consequence of the Story, that most of these Oppositions began in *Scotland*, and from *Scotland* it self, that even the Gentry and Nobility of *Scotland*, as well in Parliament as out, not agreed only to these Things, but even made the first Proposals of them, and that therefore *England* could by no Means be reproach'd with it.

But they who consider the Nature of the UNION, and the Circumstances both of Persons and Things, must know, That the Union was a Transaction With the Government,

vernment and Parliament of *Scotland*, as then establish'd and consider'd in their legal establish'd Circumstances, viz. In State entirely Independent, and Free; and in Church wholly *Presbyterian*.

To say that the Nobility and Gentry of *Scotland* are for an *Episcopal Government* in the Church, tho' we were to suppose it to be true, which, it is manifest, it is not; yet, were nothing to the Purpose, because we Treated, Agreed, and United with them as *Presbyterian*, and establish'd their Church in all its Powers and Privileges, as of Doctrine, Worship, Discipline, and Government unalterable for Ever.

No *Act* then can be equally National with the *Union*, and to say that *Scots Men* bring these Innovations upon them is rather an Aggravation than an Extenuation of the Thing; for the *Presbyterian Church* is now under the general Protection of the Parliament and the Government; and it is a Debt, and the Duty of the Administration to defend the said *Presbyterian Establishment* against the Invasions of their own *Jacobite* and *Episcopal Disturbers*. If a Woman is single she may be insulted and made afraid by her own Relations; she is liable to Arrests, Prosecutions, and all Kinds of Legal Process for Debts, Trespas, &c. but when she is married she is under Covert, and her Husband is her Protector and Defender

fender against all Manner of Insults, and especially from those of her own Blood.

Scotland knew at the Time of the Treaty what sort of People were in her own Bowels; her *Parliament* or *Civil-Representative*, knew it; her *Assembly*, or *Church-Representative* knew it; and I cannot do Justice, even to the Latter, but by saying, that most of the Ministers of the *Presbyterian* Church, who were for the *Union*, were mov'd to be so, as they took the *English* Government to be a Just and Upright *Constitution*, by which, after they had once Capitulated for *Liberty*, they should be sure to enjoy it; and by which they should be sure to be Protected from the Violence and Encroachments of their own Private *Episcopal Enemies*: And if they are Deceiv'd in this, I must acknowledge they are Deceiv'd in that only Thing in which it could be said, they had just reason to depend upon *England*. To say then, that their own People introduce this, is to speak the most to the Disadvantage of the *English* Side that can be imagin'd; for did they not know their own People would do thus? And why did they Unite with us, but to obtain a just Protection against those *Traytors* of their own, who they knew would do thus? And why was it that they made such Provision for the Security of their Church, but because they knew they had a Party among themselves who would, if possible,

sible, make an Advantage out of their Confederacy with the *English* Clergy to Suppress and Invade them.

This respects an Error in Argument ; but let us next enquire into matter of Right and Justice, and the Reasons to be given in behalf of *Scotland*, why the Encroachment made, should not have been encourag'd here ; the most plain and direct Answer that seems to offer it self in this Case, is that of the Articles, in short express'd thus, *viz.* You ought not, because you Articled with them in the Treaty of *Union*, that you would not ; they ought not to be thus used, because they Condition'd in the *Union* that they should not ; and if this be made clear, there seems to lie no other Argument against the Case.

To bring this to a clear Understanding, nothing can be a more direct Method than to bring the Case in Debate, to the Act of the *Union*, and state them over-against the other : The Attempt in the Parliament here consists of three Particulars :

1. Preventing the Disturbing the *Episcopal* Meetings, Reading the *English* Liturgy, or, in few Words, Tollerating the Common-Prayer-Book in *Scotland*.

2. Repealing a Law which was Establish'd by the *Union*.

3. Taking

3. Taking from the Church of *Scotland* the Privilege of restraining Irregular Marriages and Baptisms.

These Particulars seem to require a little Explanation, to bring them down to those Parts of the Treaty of *Union*, which more particularly are understood by the *Scots* to provide against these very Attempts.

1. The Setting up the *Common-Prayer-Book* in *Scotland*, and preventing the Disturbing the *Meetings* in the Exercise of that Worship; this is what they call an *Innovation* in the Publick Worship; nor is it sufficient to say, that this is not brought into the Church of *Scotland*, but that the Worship of the Church remains the same, since by the Fifth Act of the First Parliament of *William* and *Mary*, which Act also is made a Part of the *Union*; this Clause which follows, and by several other Acts, likewise the said Clause was made *Perpetual* and *Unalterable*. The UNIFORMITY, Mark the Word, of the Worship, Discipline, and Government of the Church of *Scotland*, as then in Use, was to remain unalterable, &c. The Clause runs thus: *And more especially Her Majesty, with Advice and Consent aforesaid, ratifies, proves, and for ever confirms the Fifth Act of the First Parliament of King William and Queen Mary, intituled, An Act ratifying the Confession of Faith, and Settling Presbyterian Church*

Church Government with the Hail, other Acts of Parliament relating thereto, in Prosecution of the Declaration of the Estates of this Kingdom, containing the Claim of Right; bearing Date the Eleventh of April, One Thousand Six Hundred Eighty Nine.

This then will admit no Dispute, That no Toleration can be given to any Innovation in *Worship*, tho' in private separate Assemblies, without Breach of the UNIFORMITY of *Worship*, and for this we need go no farther than the Prosecutions of the Dissenters in England for many Years, who were pursued, by the Church-Men, upon what they call'd the *Act of Uniformity*, viz. The Statue of Carol. II. Cap. — entituled, *An Act to preserve the Uniformity of Worship in the Church of England.*

That the Setting up the *Common-Prayer-Book* in Scotland was an Innovation in their *Worship*, could admit of no Dispute, and that such Innovation was expressly Articled against in the Clause above, is as evident; so that it seems very plain then, that the said *Liturgy* could not be Tolerated in Scotland without a direct Breach of the Union.

It may be argu'd, also, in Favour of the Scots, That this was the Sense of the Legislature at the Time of the making this Law, and was understood on both Sides; and this requires a little Secret History to make up the Deficiency of the

the common Opinions at this time. It was to be observ'd, and was very remarkable at that time, when the *Act for the Security of the Church of Scotland* was Transacting, that two sorts of People Oppos'd it there. It is necessary for the Readers full Understanding this Matter, that he should know that the said Act was first Divided by an Overture for the Parliament, and then Debated in the Assembly, or Commission of the Assembly of the Church there; upon which Occasion it was oppos'd in the Commission by some Ministers, who perhaps, having less Confidence in the *English* than others had, thought nothing sufficiently Secure that was not in exprefs Words set down, concluding that, in an *Episcopal Church of England* Parliament, every thing that would bear a double Construction, would always be Constructed to the Disadvantage of the *Presbyterians*; and these believing the Act not to be sufficient Security for them, would have had a Toleration of the *English* Liturgy expressly Articled against for that reason. I wish we had not since too much reason to say these Men were too much in the Right.

There were another sort who, especially in the Parliament, when the Act came there, were against the Passing it, as Voteing it *not to be a sufficient Security for the Church*, who yet were themselves utter Enemies to the Church; and this was a very odd Circumstance

cumstance, and of which the Author of *The Collections of the Affairs of the Union* has this Remark upon: " This appear'd to
 " be the plain Design in that, as I have al-
 " ready noted, the Gentlemen that spake
 " loudest for the Insufficiency of the *Act of*
 " *Security* were not of those People who
 " really were most concern'd for the Safety
 " of the Church of *Scotland*; the Objecti-
 " ons also, were not calculated for Amend-
 " ments, or Additions, but for Destroying
 " the Bill itself, as built on the Supposi-
 " tion of a *Union* which, they said, was a
 " Foundation that would not bear such a
 " Superstructure.

These People also were for having the *Common-Prayer* expressly, and in Words at Length, provided against in the *Act of Security*, and this, not that they concern'd themselves for the Church, but because they took it for granted that this would not go down in *England*, and that, therefore, it would overthrow the UNION, which was what they aim'd at; and this may serve farther to unriddle it, viz. That those very Men, or many of them, who would have had a *Clause* inserted in the *Act of Union* against the *Common-Prayer*, Literally and Expressly, and who exclaim'd against the *Act*, as not a sufficient Security for the Church of *Scotland*, are the same who now eagerly

K push

push the *English* upon Setting up the *Common-Prayer-Book* in *Scotland*.

However, at last the *Moderate Men* prevailing, the *Act of Security* was pass'd in *Parliament*, and such *Clauses* were put in, tho' not the Word *Common-Prayer* express'd, as the Members thought effectually shut out the Possibility of Setting up the *Common-Prayer*, if the *English* had any Sense of Honour in them, and would have the least Regard to the true Design of the *Act*, as well as to the *Literal Sense*; and they thought that by how much the more Tender they were of their *Brethren* in *England*, in not putting in the Words *Liturg*y, or *Common-Prayer*, by so much the more Honourable the *English* would be to them in any future *Constructions*, because they knew the *Grounds* on which they had gone, and how they had answer'd for the *English* to the dissatisfy'd People.

But Sense of Honour, and just Allowance to a *Generous Confidence*, however at other Times they may take Place, at a Time when a Nation is possess'd with Prejudices, and guided by Parties, these Things are not heard.

However, because these two Contradictions may stand just opposite to one another, I think the room well taken up to incert here the said *Church Act* in *Scotland*, which, the Words *Common-Prayer* and *Toleration* excepted,

excepted, is as full as the Wit of Man can invent, and if the other Act passes the *English* Parliament, for, at the Writing of this, it is yet Depending before the Lords, I shall either recite or abridge that also, and then draw some brief Remarks from the Whole. The Act of *Security in Scotland* runs thus:

Here follows the Tenour of the Act for Securing the Protestant Religion, and Presbyterian Church Government.

“ OUR Sovereign Lady and the Estates of
 “ Parliament considering, That by the
 “ late Act of Parliament for a Treaty with
 “ *England*, for an *Union* of both Kingdoms, it’s
 “ provided, That the Commissioners for that *Trea-*
 “ *ty* should not treat of, or Concerning any Al-
 “ teration of the *Worship, Discipline, and Government*
 “ of the *Church* of this Kingdom, as now by Law
 “ Establish’d; which *Treaty* being now Reported
 “ to the Parliament, and it being Reasonable and
 “ Necessary, That the true *Protestant Religion*, as
 “ presently professed within this Kingdom, with
 “ the *Worship, Discipline, and Government* of this
 “ *Church*, should be effectually, and unalterably
 “ Secur’d: Therefore Her Majesty, with Advice
 “ and Consent of the States of Parliament, doth
 “ hereby Establish and Confirm the said True
 “ *Protestant Religion*, and the *Worship, Discipline,*
 “ and *Government* of this *Church*, to continue
 “ without Alteration to the People of this Land,
 “ in all succeeding Generations: And, more e-
 “ specially, Her Majesty, with Advice and Con-
 “ sent aforesaid, Ratifies, Approves, and for ever
 “ K 2 “ Confirms

“ Confirms the Fifth Act of the First Parliament
 “ of King *William* and Queen *Mary*, Entitled, *Act*
 “ *Ratifying the Confession of Faith, and Settling*
 “ *Presbyterian-Church-Government*, with the Hail
 “ other Acts of Parliament relating thereto, in
 “ Prosecution of the Declaration of the States of
 “ this Kingdom, Containing the Claim of Right,
 “ bearing Date the 11th of *April*, 1699. And
 “ Her Majesty, with Advice and Consent fore-
 “ said, expressly Provides and Declares, that the
 “ foresaid True *Protestant Religion*, Contain’d in
 “ the above-mention’d *Confession of Faith*, with the
 “ *Form and Purity of Worship*, presently in Use
 “ within this Church and its *Presbyterian-Church-*
 “ *Government and Discipline*, that is to say, the
 “ Government of the Church by *Kirk Sessions*,
 “ *Presbyteries*, *Provincial Synods*, and *General As-*
 “ *semblies*, all Establish’d by the foresaid Acts of
 “ Parliament, pursuant to the Claim of Right,
 “ shall Remain and Continue Unalterable: And
 “ that the said *Presbyterian Government* shall be the
 “ only Government of the Church, within the
 “ Kingdom of *Scotland*; and further, for the
 “ greater Security of the foresaid *Protestant Reli-*
 “ *gion*, and of the *Worship, Discipline, and Govern-*
 “ *ment* of this Church, as above Establish’d, Her
 “ Majesty, with Advice and Consent aforesaid,
 “ Statutes and Ordains, That the Universities
 “ and Colledges of *St. Andrews, Glasgow, Aberdeen,*
 “ and *Edinburgh*, as now Establish’d by Law, shall
 “ continue within this Kingdom for ever: And
 “ that in all Times Coming, no Professors, Prin-
 “ cipals, Regents, Masters, or others bearing Of-
 “ fice in any University, Colledge or School
 “ within this Kingdom, be capable to be Admit-
 “ ted, or Allowed to continue in the Exercise of
 “ their said Functions, but such as shall own and
 “ acknow-

“ acknowledge the *Civil Government* in manner
 “ prescrib'd or to be prescribed to the Acts of Par-
 “ liament. As also, that before or at their Ad-
 “ missions, they do and shall Acknowledge and
 “ Profess, and shall Subscribe to the foresaid Con-
 “ fession of *Faith*, as the Confession of their *Faith*,
 “ and that they will Practice and Conform them-
 “ selves to the Worship presently in Use in this
 “ Church, and submit themselves to the Govern-
 “ ment and Discipline thereof, and never Endea-
 “ vour Directly or Indirectly, the Prejudice or
 “ Subversion of the same, and that before the
 “ respective *Presbyteries* of their Bounds, by what-
 “ soever Gift, Presentation or Provision they may
 “ be thereto provided.

“ And further, Her Majesty by Advice afore-
 “ said, expressly Declares and Statutes, That none
 “ of the Subjects of this Kingdom shall be liable
 “ to, but all and every one of them for ever, free
 “ of an Oath, Test, or Subscription within this
 “ Kingdom, contrary to, or Inconsistent with the
 “ afore said True *Protestant Religion*, and *Presbyteri-
 “ an Church-Government, Worship, and Discipline*, as
 “ above Establish'd: And that the same within
 “ the Bounds of this Church and Kingdom, shall
 “ never be Impos'd or Requir'd of them in any
 “ sort; and lastly, That after the Decease of Her
 “ present Majesty, (whom God long preserve) the
 “ Sovereign Succeeding to Her, in the Royal Go-
 “ vernment of the Kingdom of *Great Britain*, shall
 “ in all Time coming, at His or Her Accession
 “ to the Throne, Swear and Subscribe, That they
 “ shall inviolably Preserve and Maintain the a-
 “ fore said Settlement of the True *Protestant Reli-
 “ gion*, with the *Government, Worship, Discipline,
 “ Right and Priviledges* of this Church as above
 “ Establish'd by the Laws of this Kingdom, in
 “ Prose.

“ Prosecution of the Claim of Right. And ’tis
 “ hereby Statuted and Ordained, that this Act of
 “ Parliament with the Establishment therein con-
 “ tain’d, shall be held and observ’d in all Time
 “ coming, as a Fundamental and Essential Con-
 “ dition of any *Treaty* or *Union*, to be Concluded
 “ betwixt the Two Kingdoms, without any Al-
 “ teration thereof, or Derogation thereto, in any
 “ sort for ever; as also, that this Act of Parlia-
 “ ment and Settlement therein contain’d, shall
 “ be Inserted and Repeated in any Act of Parlia-
 “ ment that shall pass for Agreeing and Conclu-
 “ ding the aforesaid *Treaty* or *Union* betwixt the
 “ Two Kingdoms; and that the same shall be
 “ therein declar’d expressly to be a Fundamental
 “ and Essential Condition of the said *Treaty* or
 “ *Union*, in all Time coming. Which Articles
 “ of *Union*, and Act immediately above written,
 “ Her Majesty with Advice and Consent afore-
 “ said, Statutes, Enacts and Ordains, to be and
 “ continue in all Time coming, the sure and per-
 “ petual Foundation of a compleat and entire
 “ *Union* between Both Kingdoms of *Scotland* and
 “ *England*, under this expresse Condition and Pro-
 “ vision, That the Approbation and Ratification
 “ of the aforesaid Articles and Act, shall be no
 “ ways binding on this Kingdom, until the said
 “ Articles and Act, be Ratified, Approved, and
 “ Confirmed by Her Majesty, with and by the
 “ Authority of the Parliament of *England*, as they
 “ are now Agreed to, Approved and Confirmed
 “ by Her Majesty, with and by the Authority
 “ of the Parliament of *Scotland*; Declaring never-
 “ theless, That the Parliament of *England* may
 “ provide for the Security of the Church of *Eng-*
 “ *land* as they shall think expedient, to take Place
 “ within the said Bounds of the Kingdom of *Eng-*
 “ *land*,

" land, and not derogating from the Security a-
 " bove provided, for Establishing the Church of
 " Scotland within the Bounds of this Kingdom;
 " as also the said Parliament of *England* may
 " extend the Additions and other Provisions con-
 " tain'd in the Articles of the *Union*, as above in-
 " serted, in Favour of the Subjects of *Scotland* to,
 " and in Favour of the Subjects of *England*, which
 " shall not suspend or derogate from the Force
 " and Effect of this present Ratification, but shall
 " be understood as herein included, without the
 " Necessity of any New Ratification in the Par-
 " liament of *Scotland*; and lastly, Her Majesty
 " Enacts and Declares, That all Laws and Sta-
 " tutes in this Kingdom, so far as they are con-
 " trary to, and inconsistent with the Terms of
 " these Articles above-mention'd, shall, from and
 " after the *Union*, cease and become void.

No Man in *Scotland* thought but the
Common-Prayer-Book and *Episcopacy* were
 buried alive in this Act, and the *Episcopal*
 Party themselves concluded themselves lost
 by it, and therefore, with all their Might,
 oppos'd the *Union*, as a Thing which effectually
 foreclos'd them, and cut off all Hopes
 of their ever being able to restore their Af-
 fairs again in *Scotland*; and, I believe, any
 Man that reads it, will allow that the Wit of
 Man could not devise a Thing fuller and
 firmer for the Settling and Establishing any
Constitution in the World, especially having
 to do with Nations that profess'd *Christianity*,
 and valu'd themselves upon the Honour and

Justice of their *Proceedings* in all Things of this Kind; and to give you one convincing Proof that it was thought so, even by the *Church of England Men* themselves, you will find that whereas by the Act of *Ratification* in *Scotland* there was a Blank left, with these Words preceeding.

Declaring, nevertheless, That the Parliament of England may provide for the Security of the Church of England, as they think expedient to take Place within the Bounds of the said Kingdom of England, and not Derogating from the Security above-provided, for Establishing of the Church of Scotland within the Bounds of this Kingdom.

Which Blank the *English* Parliament was to fill up with such an Act or Clause for the Security of the *English Church*, as they thought fit; the Bishops, to whom that Thing was referr'd, Thinking it impossible to do any Thing more Secure, they fill'd up that Blank with an Act of *Security* for the *Church of England* in the very same Form, and in the very same Terms, *mutatis mutandis*, as the *Church of Scotland* had done before them, as may appear by the *Exemplification*. [Vid. *Collection of Original Papers relating to the Union*. Part Vth, Fol. 120 —

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This, I say, is a most convincing Proof that even the *Church of England* thought this Act of *Security* an effectual sufficient Establishment for the *Church of Scotland*, and I make no Doubt the Enemies of both thought it so too.

But what can be made so Strong and Lasting by Men, but may, by Men, be broken in upon? And when Men, wanting Principle, but having Power, think fit to fall upon any weaker Body, we very rarely find they are at a Loss for an Occasion. What the Pretences which were made the Reasons of what follow'd in this Case were, how weak, ill-grounded, and how inconsistent with the *Treaty of Union* will appear in the following Part of this Work ; but first it may be necessary to give a Summary Account of the Juncture in which these Things happen'd.

The *Church of Scotland* had had little or no Concern in all the *Politick Bustle* at Court, of which we have an Account in the preceeding Chapter, other than as the *Scots*, influenc'd by the People here of their own Nation, fell too much in with the Hurry Things were in at the Election of the *Parliament* aforesaid. The *Commoners* of that Parliament were not so effectually chang'd, and a great many of the Old People came into the House, so that the *Whiggs* might be said to have the Majority. But the Election

Election of Peers went quite another Way, and being manag'd by the D—— of A——le and his Two close Allies J——a and M——r, they made a List of such as they thought proper, and rather nam'd them to the General Meeting of the No——ty, than gave them a Freedom of Choice. It is true, this was not without a warm Opposition; and had not many been so aw'd in it by the Conduct, the Menaces, and the other Management of a P——ty, it had not been easie to have brought the Scots Nobility into an Election so inconsistent with their L——s in that Manner, and so dishonourable to them in the Introduction: But this was no Time to complain, or, at least, to be redress'd. The Nomination, or List, being presented at the Meeting of the Lords, was Voted, the *Whigg* Lords Protesting against it as no *Free Election*, and Refusing to appear at the Place.

Were the high Performances, as well as the Characters, of these Men enquir'd into, a few excepted, it need not be wonder'd if they merited from the *High Party* in *England* to be gratify'd in any Thing they should demand; and as they fell in directly with the *October Club*, a Sort of *Mad-men*, who made themselves the Subject of a History at that Time, and appearing active in the worst Drudgery of that *Party*, it could not be deny'd that it was a Debt to their Performances

formances that the said *October Club Men* should again give their Votes to their New *Northern Confederates* in any Thing they should offer, tho' *Leagues, Treaties, Acts of Parliament, Union*, or any Thing else stood in the Way.

This being the Case, what had the *Church of Scotland* to expect from the Adherents of the New Chosen *Party*, or such of them as above, who were *Jacobite* in *Practice, Episcopal* in *Principle*, together with some of very little, if any *Principle* at all: These flock up to *Court*, and as they had long waited for an Occasion against the *Constitution* of the *Church*, the Devil seem'd now to have furnish'd them to their Hearts Content.

It had been long since they had universally vow'd the *Church* a Cast of their Office, if ever it lay in their Power; and since the *Union* had Confederated them with an *Episcopal Church* in *England*, they fail'd not to make their *Court* to it upon all Occasions, and by two Arguments which deluded very many in *England*, who saw not the Design, nor were let into the Secret of the *Party*. These Arguments were;

1. Their being grievously Oppress'd and Persecuted by the *Presbyterians* for their *Consciences*, and allow'd no *Toleration*.
2. Their being a *Sister-Church*, and desirous

firous to be farther United, and more nearly related by Embracing the *English Liturgy*.

Charity mov'd many in *England* to concern themselves for them, on the first of these Considerations and Zeal for the *Common-Prayer* put forward others; and it will be very hard for me, in this narrow Compass, to describe fully all the Mischiefs these Two led our People into, which themselves had no Thought or Design to have been concern'd in.

The first Step they took, on the Head of Persecution, was to make a piteous Representation of the *Poverty* and *Misery* of the dispossest'd *Clergy* under the grievous *Persecution* of the *Presbyterians*, and to get Her Majesty's License for making a Collection for their Relief all over *England*; which they did with great Success, if their own Boasts may be believ'd, I mean the Boasts of the *English Clergy*, in which, however this Difficulty lies before us, that if the *English Clergy* receiv'd what many of them boasted of, it ill agreed with the Accounts of what the *Scots Clergy* really receiv'd from them, since this Author having seen the Books which the Persons appointed in *Scotland* to receive and distribute the said *Charity* kept, the Whole never amounted, *Communibus Annis*, to above 500*l.* a Year, one Year excepted, when
it

it came to 700 and some odd Pounds; whereas in *England* many Thousand Pounds were Collected, or else those that spoke loudest spoke. — *&c.* — Of which the World may hear further in Time.

01 In these Collections great Exclamations were made at the *Scots* for Persecuting, Oppressing, and cruel Dealing with the *Episcopal Clergy* in *Scotland*, in order to excite the Charity of the People on one Hand, but as seem'd by their manner more still on the other Hand for the aggravating the Temper of the People against the *Scots, qua Presbyterian*; nor was this use fail'd to be made of it, *viz.* that they might see what sort of People the *Presbyterians* were, when they had the Power in their Hands, and how, altho' they made loud Clamours here, upon the least Invasion of their Liberty, yet, in *Scotland*, where they had the Power in their own Hands, they Persecuted the *Episcopal Dissenters* with all the Severity and Rigour imaginable; this was the constant Discourse of our People here, at that time, and which is believ'd by many among us to this Day.

It cannot, therefore, but be necessary, both in Justice to the People of *Scotland*, and also for the Information of those who have been impos'd upon, to set this Matter in a True Light, that every one may judge of the Truth, and the World be no longer impos'd

pos'd upon : This may be done by Enquiring,

1. Into the true State of the Conduct of the *Presbyterian Church* in *Scotland* to the Dispossess'd *Episcopal* People, and to their Ministers.
2. Into the true State of the *Episcopal Interest* there, and the Conduct of the *Dissenters* towards the Establish'd Church.

And this may be the Subject of the next Chapter.



C H A P. IV.

A farther Relation of the Affairs of Scotland, as it relates to Persecution, Tolleration, and the Union especially, serving as an Introduction to the Proceedings in England, for setting up the English Liturgy in Scotland.



Previous to the History of this New Attempt in Scotland as before, it may be very necessary to trace back to their Original, the Pretensions of both Parties, and enquire about *Toleration* and *Persecution*, that we may know directly what to judge of both, and make way for silencing the Clamours, and solving the Doubts both on one Side and the other. In order to this, as

I said in the Close of the last Chapter, we ought to enquire into two Things :

1. Into the true State of the Conduct of the *Presbyterian Church* in *Scotland* to the Dispossess'd *Episcopal* People, and to their Ministers.
2. Into the true State of the *Episcopal* Interest there, and the Conduct of the *Dissenters* towards the Establish'd Church.

1. *Into the true State of the Conduct of the Presbyterian Church in Scotland, to the Dispossess'd Episcopal People, and to their Ministers.* In order to this we shall go back to the *Revolution* only ; for there, and not before, the *Presbyterians* had Power to act as a Body. As soon as the Prince of *Orange* was Landed in *England*, King *James* Fled, and the *Tyranny* and *Oppression* of that Reign seem'd to have an End; when the *Convention* of Estates of *Scotland* were assembled by the Encouragement of, and Declaration from the said Prince : The People took Arms in *Scotland* for the Recovery of their *Liberties*, as they had done in *England*.

It may be true, that when the People were thus Universally free, and Arms were in the Hands of the Common People, that they immediately apply'd themselves in *Scotland*, as they in *England* had shew'd them

them the Way, to rid themselves of the *Popish* and *Episcopal* Party, who had so bloodily Rul'd them, been a Terror to them; had put so many of them to Torments and Death; and to whom, as well as to their Profession in Religion, *viz. Episcopacy, or Prelacy*, they had the utmost Aversion.

And considering that there were few Families left but some of whose near Friends had been put to Death, Banish'd, Tortur'd, or Plunder'd, and Impoverish'd by that very *Party*, and some by the same Persons then Living among them, it seems rather to be wonder'd that, when the *Common People* had the full Liberty of *Treating* them as they pleas'd, they did not tear them to Pieces, than that they did dispossess and drive them from among them.

The *Church of England Men* in *England* cannot joyn in that Exclamation against the Poor People of *Scotland* for the Extravagancies of their said Rabbles at that Time, since the Rabbles and Tumults in *England*, tho' having by no Means the Pretence of like Provocation, exercis'd much more *Violence* and *Fury* on the same Occasion, such as Pillaging the Houses of Foreign Ambassadors; Laying waste the Fields and Parks of the Gentry, and Plundering the Dwelling-Houses of many who had no Concern in the Oppression of King *James's* Reign; but that, by the Way, only to our People in *England*, it may be said, that it is *ad Hominem*

to them, and may serve effectually to stop their Mouths in this Matter.

But, to come to the Point, in this Tumult, upon the first Heat of the *Revolution*, it is acknowledg'd, That in the West of *Scotland*, viz. in the Shires of *Air*, *Galway*, *Dumfries*, &c. the *Curates*, or *Episcopal Clergy* were, *brevi manu*, Dispossest'd, turn'd Out, and sent away from their Livings, not Enquiring whether they would Conform to the future Establishment or no: For in that Heat, as is most natural to suppose, the Enquiry was rather what they had been, than what they would promise to be hereafter: This is Acknowledging as much as the worst Enemy can charge; and all the loudest Clamour which they make of the Violence of the Rabble against some of those Ministers might be thus answer'd from themselves, if they would sincerely, from their Consciences, ask, and reply uprightly to this Question; 1. Reflecting on the Usage the Poor People had suffer'd; the Persecution they had undergone; the Blood that had been spilt; and the Losses they had sustain'd; to which even many of these Ministers had been assistant and accessory; and, considering the unrestrain'd Power the Poor People at that Time had. Whether they did not wonder that they came off so well, and whether the Ministers of that Side did not expect much worse from their Hands? And 2. Whether the *Church of England*

England Rabbles, at the same Time, and upon the same Occasion, did not commit a Thousand greater Violences, and more extravagant, tho' with far less Provocation? These are, as I said above, *ad Hominem* in this Case: And after all that has been complain'd of, this is certain, and to me, I confess, no less wonderful that there was no Blood shed, no Life lost in the whole Affair; which, if the Tables were turn'd, as God forbid, and the other Party were uppermost, and had the same Power, I believe the Gentlemen we are Speaking of would not answer for.

In this Hurry therefore, as I said before, several of the *Episcopal Ministers* were turn'd out of their Parishes and Livings by Violence, and it was a Wonder it was no worse. But this can by no means be laid to the Charge of the *Presbyterian Church Settlement*, for they were not settled or establish'd in any Legal Form 'till the Year after, *viz.* the Year 1689, when the Fifth Act of the Second Session of the First Parliament of *William and Mary*, entituled, *Act Ratifying the Confession of Faith, and Settling Presbyterian Church Government*, was pass'd in *Scotland*. Now let us enquire critically into the Conduct of the *Church* as *Presbyterian*, and as vested with *Ecclesiastick Jurisdiction*, and then, if any Appearance of *Persecution* is to be found, it will lie fairly against them. The first Act after the Settlement of the *Presbyterian*

Church was, indeed, to empower all these *Ministers of the Presbyterian Church* who were possess'd of *Living*s at the Restoration, (1661) and were turn'd out, and were then *Living*, to return and repossess them. This was but an Act of Justice to restore Men to those Rights from which (by their Constitution) they suppos'd them violently and unjustly thrown out: But, alas! If this be the Persecution they mean, how few, could it be suppos'd, were to be found, which the Gallows, the Tortures, the Murtherings in cold Blood, the Drowning, the Banishment of the *Episcopal Persecutors*, had left alive; or who, in 28 Years Time, for so long the Reign of *Episcopal Cruelty* lasted, were not worn out by Age, and sent to Rest in their Graves, so that I believe I speak within Compass if I say that not Fifty *Presbyterian Ministers* were to be found who claim'd the Possession of Benefices by that Act.

The *Church* being now settled, even the Nature of the Thing prevented them hastily Turning out the *Episcopal Ministers* for Twenty Eight Years Persecution, and especially a Persecution so cruel, and so severe, had worn out even the Race of *Presbyterian Pastors*, and there were not enough to be found to supply the *Churches*; this, I say, even by the Nature of the Thing, prevented any immediate general Prosecution of the Design for Dispossessing the *Episcopal Ministers*;

nisters; but, after this, as a Testimony of the *Moderation* of a *Presbyterian Government*, and to shew them that nothing but a just Settlement of Things was aim'd at, with as little Oppression of the *Episcopal Ministers* as was possible, an *Act* of Parliament was pass'd, viz. The 27th *Act* of the Fifth Session of the First Parliament of King *William* and Queen *Mary*, Anno 1695, and entitl'd, *Act concerning the Church*; by which all *Episcopal Ministers* who were possess'd of Livings and Benefices in *Scotland* were allow'd to continue in the same upon no other Conditions but those of Living peaceably under, and Taking the Oaths to the *Government*. Now let any Instance of a like *Moderation* be given in any Parallel Case in the World; and let any Man judge of the Charge of Persecution cast upon the *Church of Scotland*, After such Dealings and such Connivance. Here was not so much as an Acknowledgment of, or *Subjection* to the *Presbyterian Church Government*, no Subscription to *Presbyterian Articles of Faith*, or to any Thing inconsistent with their own Principles requir'd of them, as is usual in all such Cases in other Countries, and is especially in *England*.

Pursuant to this *Act*, a Sixth part of all the Parishes in *Scotland* were left in the Hands of the *Episcopal Ministers* in *Scotland*, and the Few Removes made by Death being Excepted, they continue so still; and so far

are the said *Episcopal Ministers* from paying any Homage of Principles to the Establish'd *Church*, that, on the contrary, they own and continue themselves *Episcopal*; and the *Presbyterians* assemble in private Meetings-Houses in some of the same Towns under them, like meer *Dissenters*: This is a Token of Forbearance that, I presume, no establish'd *Church* in *Europe*, this alone excepted, can give an Example of.

But this is not all: That the *Church* of *England* may be yet more asham'd to charge the *Church* of *Scotland* with being so much a *Persecutor* as herself, we have another Instance which is very clear, and past all possibility of denying; The *Episcopal* People who were Dispossess'd for refusing to take the Oaths to the *Government*, soon after this set up Meetings in all Parts of *Scotland*, in which they not only set up *Publick Worship*, and gather'd Congregations, and in some Few (*very Few*) the *Common-Prayer*, all which was directly contrary to the Laws of *Scotland*, and the Privileges of the *Church*, and which the *Church* might very readily, and justly have suppress'd; but in none, or very few of these would they ever Pray for the *Queen*; in many of them they openly Pray'd for the *Pretender*, and in all of them they pray'd in ambiguous Terms, such as might clearly evidence that they meant the *Pretender*, such as praying for
the

the King, or the Queen, or the Royal Family, and the like; and yet, even for this, did not the Church of Scotland take the least Cognifance, or offer them any Disturbance, tho', at the fame Time, the like Jacobite Meetings were, generally fpeaking, Suppreſs'd, Diſturb'd, and effectually Scatter'd in England, without the leaſt Complaint, or clamour of Perſecution; nor, to this Day, are they allow'd among us. I am the freer to take up ſome time on this Head, becauſe I cannot but think that the Honelt, but prejudic'd People in England, who have been impoſed upon, by the publick Cryes of Sufferings, Perſecution, Cruelties, and Mercileſs Uſage of the Epifcopal Party in Scotland, will, I doubt not, be pleaſed to be undeceiv'd, and be glad to reſtore the Church of Scotland, to their entire Charity and good Opinion, and to have that Damp remov'd, which they had on good Ground, as they ſuppos'd, felt on their Thoughts, when they believ'd, that the Exceſſies pretended to, had Truth enough in them to merit real Blame, and that the Warmth of Northern Zeal had carry'd the Scots beyond that Moderation, which is the Beauty and Glory of the Proteſtant Religion, and which I doubt not to make appear, the Church of Scotland has given Reason to believe, ſhe at this time practiſes, and from the Revolution to this time has done as much as any Church in the World.

'Tis for these Reasons I write; 'tis for the sake of these this part of *this Book* is publish'd; 'tis to undeceive the Friends to *Truth* and the Lovers of *Peace*; to remove the *Prejudices* of those that wou'd be inform'd, not of those that seek to be imposed upon, and hunt about for Subject to Cavil and Debate: 'Tis to clear up the Reputation of the Church of *Scotland* among her Friends, not among her Enemies, among the Friends to Religion in *England*, and among the *Protestant Churches* abroad; this is the Reason of this Work, and the Author professes to have no other Design.

Not but that it may also serve to stop the Mouths of some People who, with an *Uncharitable Zeal*, have rais'd a Cloud, and cast Dirt on the Establish'd Church of *Scotland* on this Account, and perhaps they may here find some Occasion to alter their Measures, and with respect to their own Reputation change their Note: For it always weakens the Reputation of either Person or Party, to assert *Falshoods*, to raise *Stories* that must, if Examined into, appear to be forged, and contrived only to Defame. And that this may be effectually done, I shall set down a short Abstract of the Proceedings of the *Church*, with relation to their own Settlement, taken from sufficient Authorities, as follows:

The *Government* was no sooner Establish'd by the *Revolution*, and the *Kirk* Restor'd

Restor'd to her *Judicatories* and *Authority*, but her several Courts as *Session*, *Presbytery*, *Synod*, and *Assembly*, took their Courses and began to Act.

By the first Act of Parliament for settling these Matters, pass'd June 7. 1690, Intituled, *Act Ratifying the Confession of Faith, and Settling Presbyterian Church Government*, It is Ordain'd, That the *General Assembly the Ministers and Elders*, should have Power to try and purge out all *Insufficient, Scandalous and Erroneous Ministers*, by *due Course of Ecclesiastick Process, and Censures*; But this Act no where Impower'd them to Censure any who were not *Insufficient, Scandalous or Erroneous*, tho' they would not take the Oaths to the *Government*. So that, by this Law, the Church could not be capable of *Persecution*.

It may be objected here, That to be *Episcopal*, might be adjudged *Erroneous* by this *Judicatory*, and so come under the Church Censure, by Authority of this Act.

To this 'tis Replied. First, *In Faët*, No Man was ever since the *Revolution*, Deposed by the Church, meerly for being *Episcopal*, nor was any Process ever commenc'd against any Man on that Foundation.

And here by the way, if this be true, as I can challenge the World to contradict it, I would humbly recommend it to those Gentlemen who are now in *England* raising
Charities

Charities, and obtaining *Contributions*, pretending it is for the Relief of the Poor Distressed Episcopal Clergy in *Scotland*, who are suffering *Persecution*, to tell the World, what it is they are persecuted for.

And the Gentlemen who bestow their *Charity*, would do well to require some Documents or Certificates of them, to prove the Particulars; And especially one exceeding busy *Solicitor* for those *Charities*, and who stiles himself a *Persecuted Episcopal Minister*, whose Name may in time be made more publick, would do well to tell them, whether he was *Deprived*, which he calls *Persecution*, for his *Conscience*, or his *Vice*; for his *Religion*, or for his *Morals*; for *Episcopacy*, or for Relapse *Fornication*.

But *Secondly*, To put this out of Question, it was particularly Declared by the First General Assembly after the Revolution, *viz.* In the Sixth Session, in the Year 1690, *That this Assembly will Depose no Incumbents simply for their Judgment anent the Government of the Church, nor Urge Re-ordination upon them. Vid. Index of the Unprinted Acts of the Assembly, Sess. 6. 1690.*

In the same Assembly, in their Instructions given to their Commission, which was to sit during their Recess, we have these Words,

That they be very Cautious of receiving Informations against the late Conformists;
And

And that they proceed in the Matter of Censure very Deliberately, so as none may have Just Cause to Complain of their Regēdity; And that they shall not proceed to Censurē, but upon Relevant Libels and Sufficiēt Probation, Act 15th. Sess. 26th, Assembly 1690.

Again, lest the *Presbyteries* should be Rash or Severe, the Commission is impower'd as follows, *That if they shall be inform'd of any precipitant Procedure of the Presbyteries in such Processes, to Restrain them. Vid. the same Act as above.*

If then they were thus Moderate even in Scandalous Things, and Declared against proceeding hastily or severely in Cases meerly *Episcopal*, where shall we find the Article of *Persecution*?

'Tis true, That, in the Year 1693, an Act of Parliament was made to Deprive all such Ministers as would not both Swear to the Government, and Acknowledge the Church Government also, and the *Confession of Faith*. But the Occasion of this Act is Visible to all that know the Affairs of that Time, that it was pass'd to satisfy the Minds of the People, who were exceedingly Disturb'd at the Church's having been Insulted in the Assembly 1692, by a general *Formula*, procured by the *Episcopal Clergy*, together with their Appeal to the King on a Refusal: And the Assembly being abruptly Dissolved, or Dismissed *sine die*, which put the Nation in a very great Fermentation, Yet,

Yet, upon this Act, I may challenge the *Episcopal Clergy* to show me one Minister, that ever was Deposed for not acknowledging the *Church*, if at the same he offer'd to acknowledge the *Government*, and take the Oaths, and they have been often challenged on this Head.

And to confirm this Lenity of Practice by a Law, that Famous Act of Parliament was made in the Year 1695, wherein taking the Oaths to the Government is made the *Only and Fully Sufficient Qualification*, and all Ministers that would so *Qualifie themselves* are continued. As may be seen at large by the Act, Intituled, *Act concerning the Church, Anno 1695.*

This very Act of Parliament, if I were to go no further, effectually clears the Church of *Scotland* from the Charge of *Persecution*; since 'tis plain there was no religious Tenet in Dispute, but a civil Question of owning or not owning the *Government*.

It was by this Act of Parliament taken quite out of the Power of the *Church*, to Depose any Man meerly for being *Episcopal* in *Principle*, or for refusing to own the *Presbyterian Church*; nay, the *Episcopal Clergy* who, by virtue of this Act, remain in their Livings, many of them to this Day, refuse to acknowledge the *Church*, to submit to any of Her *Judicatories*, or to joyn, either in *Discipline* or *Worship*; and yet, in all their Affronts

Affronts of the Establish'd Church, they continue in their Paroches, preaching and using all their Formalities; however, contrary to the Inclinations and Desires of the People.

The Church's power to Persecute, being thus limited by Act of Parliament, it remains to examine, in what manner she has exercis'd that Power she had; for in this Article must lie the Matter of this Charge, or they must have more than a Spirit of Divination that can find it out.

In order to this, I must enquire what this Power they had was, and that is a very short Question: Their Power, 'tis plain, was only against such Ministers who were *Scandalous*, &c. or would not take the Oaths to the *Government*, nor pray for King *William* and Queen *Mary*.

Whether they were, or were not absolutely bound up to Censure all such as would not thus qualifie themselves, is a Question I shall speak to hereafter.

It follows to Examine how the Church has Executed this Power; and whether *Lenity* or *Severity* has been her Temper in the Case; and to state this, as clearly as possible, I must make the Gentlemen one fair Proposal.

Before I enter'd upon this Work, I not only search'd into all the Publick Records of this Matter, which I could have Access
to,

to, but made as strict Enquiry, as possibly I could, of the most Impartial and Unbiass'd Persons for any particular Case, wherein any Excurſion might have been beyond this Power, or wherein the Charge of *Persecution* might lie. And this with the utmost Impartiality, and not being able to find any Thing.

Thus stands the Article of the Behaviour of the *Church of Scotland* towards the *Episcopal Dissenters*, even at the Time when we are now passing an Act of Parliament to prevent the said *Church* persecuting the other. How far, even the *Episcopal* People themselves will think fit to Laugh at that Pretence, brought into the Title of a Law, I leave to them; no doubt but it is Diverting enough to them to have so effectually impos'd upon us in *England* about these Things.

It might have been needful to have Incorporated here the Names of the Persons now enjoying Parishes and Benefices in *Scotland*, who yet are *Episcopal* in their Perswasion, and who do not acknowledge the *Presbyterian Church Government*, and yet are continu'd, with the Names of the Parishes, the Number of which were at first 163, and are still, Death having, in Twenty Two Years time, taken many away, above 100: But having not room in this Tract, and having publish'd the same List in another small Tract; as also the *Church Registers* being always capable of proving

proving the Fact, I omit it, referring the Incredible to inform themselves of any that are Conversant at *Edinb.* and appealing even to the *Episcopal* Ministers themselves, who I believe will not deny it.

2. I proceed in the next Place, to examine the Conduct and Behaviour of the *Episcopal* People in *Scotland*, in return for the Forbearance and Lenity above; and for the more clear discovery of this, I think no better Method can be taken to refer to the Behaviour of the Gentry and People in the Affair of *Church Judicatories*, *Civil Process*, and the like, wherein the *Episcopal Clergy* are concern'd, and in the Judical Proceedings of the *Church* in planting vacant Churches, settling Ministers, and the like; as also about Intrusion into Churches, Manfes, or Parsonage-Houses, and the like.

In general it is well known, that all possible *Opposition*, Insults of *Publick Judicature*, Contempt of *Discipline* and *Government*, even to *Violence*, breach of the *Laws*, breach of the *Peace*. *Rabble*, *Tumult*, and *Barbarity* has been the Return made by the *Episcopal Party*, for the *Lenity* and *Forbearance* aforesaid; and this in several Particulars, too long to recite here; yet I cannot agree to pass such a General, without entering into some Particulars, in order to make a Proof of the Whole; lest affirming, in gross may be thought sufficiently answer'd, by denying in Gross;

Gross; wherefore, that the Thing may carry its own Evidence with itself, I shall give One or Two Instances out of many that might be named to confirm this Head.

But before I descend to these Particulars, it is first requisite to note from whence these *Episcopal* Men took Encouragement to this Way of Behaviour under an establish'd *Constitution*, and against severe *Laws* made against them; which *Laws*, had they been rigorously Executed, must have effectually suppress'd them long ago. In order to this, it is necessary to note, That, during the Reign of King *William*, all their Designs meeting with a visible Discouragement, they saw little Hopes of breaking thorough the *Constitution*, and therefore were less frequent in their Attempts; and acted with more Modesty and Caution in their Encroachments upon the *Rights* and *Privileges* of the *National Church*; nor had they many Meeting-Houses erected in that Reign. Indeed, the Act of Parliament 1695, allowing all to keep their Parishes and Stations in the *Ministry*, tho' they were *Episcopal*, provided they would take the Oaths to the *Government*, of which I made mention before, took away from them all appearance of reason for their *Discontents*; for no *Government* could think it reasonable to allow a Liberty to those who, at the same time, refused to give reasonable Assurances of their Fidelity to that

that *Government*, and therefore, in that *Reign* they lay pretty Quite, hoping, as they said, for better Times.

No sooner was King *William* in his Grave, but they began to take Courage; and entertaining new Hopes, from the first Advances made in the beginning of Her Majesty's *Reign* towards a *High-Party* in *England*, of which I have spoken at large in the first Chapter, they promis'd themselves great Things, and began to make some Steps towards the Measures they had in view.

The first Step they took, was to make their Court to the *Church of England*, calling themselves, *their Sister Church*, of the same Profession, and persecuted by *Presbyterians*, for adhereing to the Principles which the *Church of England* profess'd; and, that this might appear more and more, they apply'd themselves to the *English Bishops*, promising them to introduce the *English Liturgy* into *Scotland*; and to that Purpose receiv'd from the Bishop of *London* large numbers of *Common-Prayer-Books*, as a Charitable Contribution, *ad propaganda fide*, to be given among the poor People, whom they, tho' falsely, represented eagerly desiring that Holy-Book, and very forward to Receive and Embrace it; tho' nothing is more true, than this, that when they had it in the *North* and *East Parts* of *Scotland*, the Chiefs and *Lairds* us'd all manner of Violences to bring their

M Subjects

Subjects and Vassals to make use of it ; of which hereafter.

This was the first Step : But, as this was not the End aim'd at ; this new Correspondence was soon improv'd to a most inconsistent Attempt, and which one would have thought their New-Correspondents might have inform'd them of the Impossibility of bringing to any Head, *viz.* of Addressing Her Majesty, by Her own Authority (*i. e.* Dispensing Power) to give them a Toleration against Law : The Answer Her Majesty gave was to this purpose, *That they should behave themselves Peaceably and Quietly, in submitting to the Government, and therein they should be sure of Her Royal Favour and Protection.* Vide the Queen's Answer, publish'd in the Gazette, Janu. the , 1703. This was a Disappointment to them ; but they were soon let into the Reason of it, *viz.* That the Nature of the Thing admitted no other Answer ; and that Her Majesty could not Dispense with the Law. However, this did not so baulk them, but that, in several Places, they, by plain Force, enter'd into vacant Churches, and kept Possession of the same, preaching, and executing the Ministerial Functions, not only, against Law, but even without any Legal Qualification ; as aforesaid, not only not Praying for the Queen, but not taking the Oath, or subscribing the Assurance ; and then, being in

in remote Places of the Kingdom, and under the Protection of the *Lairds* and *Heretors*, who were professedly *Jacobites*, the Church found it very difficult to remove them; and, indeed, there appear'd no visible Way to remove them, but the same, by which they got the Possession, viz. by Violence; which was not to be done in those Northern Parts, without a Military Power, so that many of these Intruders keep Possession of the said Churches, and Manſes, and Stipends to this Day; such as,

Mr. Duncan Stuart, at Blair,
Mr. Robert Gordon, at Cluny,
Mr. John Autherlony, at Aberlemno,
Mr. John Meln, at Inneraity,
Mr. John Lyon, at Kennettle,
Mr. John Balvaird, at Hames, & many others.

We are to know, that this Intrusion was contrary to an Express Act of Parliament, in the 5th Session of the first Parliament of *William and Mary*, Act 22. 1695, entituled, *Act against Intruding into Churches, without legal Call and Admission thereto*; wherein it is expreſſly Enacted thus:

MAY **AS**

Act against Intruding into Churches without a legal Call and Admission thereto. July 5, 1695.

“ OUR Sovereign Lord considering, That Mi-
 “ nisters and Preachers, their intruding them-
 “ selves into vacant Churches; possessing of Manfes,
 “ or Benefices, and exercising any part of the *Min-*
 “ *isterial Function* in *Paroches*, without a legal Call
 “ and Admission to the said Churches, is an high
 “ Contempt of the Law, and of dangerous Conse-
 “ quences, tending to perpetuate *Scism*; therefore
 “ his Majesty, with Advice and Consent of the
 “ Estates of Parliament, Statutes and declares,
 “ That whoever shall intrude themselves into any
 “ Church, or shall possess Manse, or Benefice,
 “ or shall exercise any part of the Ministerial
 “ Function within any Paroch, without an orderly
 “ Call from the *Heritors* and *Eldership*, and legal
 “ Admission from the *Presbytery*, within whose
 “ Bounds it lies, shall be incapable of enjoying
 “ any Church, or Stipend, or Benefice, within
 “ this Kingdom, for the Space of Seven Years
 “ after their removal from the Church, and
 “ quitting Possession of the Stipend, or Benefice,
 “ into which they intruded: Likewise his Ma-
 “ jesty, with Advice and Consent aforesaid, does
 “ hereby remit the Execution of this present Act
 “ to *Sheriffs*, *Stewarts*, *Bayliffs* of *Bailleries* and *Re-*
 “ *galities*, and their Deputs, and to Magistrates
 “ of *Burghs-Royal*, who are hereby authorized and
 “ required to remove, and declare incapable, *ut*
 “ *Supra*, all those who shall hereafter intrude
 “ into Churches within their respective Juris-
 “ dictions, upon Complaint from the *Presbytery*,
 “ or any Person having a Warrant from the
 “ *Presbytery* within whose Bounds the said In-
 “ trusions shall happen, to be made hereafter,
 “ and

" and that upon Citation of ten days: Ordain-
 " ing hereby Letters of Horning and Caption, to
 " be direct in *Communi forma* upon Decrees to
 " be given by the said inferior Judges, for com-
 " pelling the said Intruders to remove from the
 " said *Churches* and *Manses*, and to quit Possession
 " of the said *Stipends*, or Benefices, and to desist
 " from exercising any Ministerial Acts within
 " the said Paroches, into which they hereafter
 " intrude. Likeas, as his Majesty doth all those
 " who have already, since the Present Establish-
 " ment of *Church Government*, intruded into va-
 " cant Churches, without an orderly Call from
 " the *Heritors* and *Eldership* of the Paroch, and a
 " legal Admission from the *Presbytery*, within
 " whose Bounds the said Church lies; and also
 " to take some effectual Course for Stopping and
 " Hindring those Ministers who are, or shall be
 " hereafter Depos'd, by the Judicators of this
 " present Establish'd Church, for preaching, or
 " exercising any Act of their Ministerial Function,
 " which they cannot do after they are depos'd,
 " without Contempt of the Authority of the
 " *Church*, and of the Laws of the Kingdom esta-
 " blishing the same.

But so great was the Resolution of these
 People to carry on this Affair, hoping for
 Connivance of the Queen, that it began to
 be Insufferable; and Complaint being made to
 the Government, several Proclamations were,
 by Her Majesty's express Order, publish'd
 by the *Privy-Council* in *Scotland*, to prevent
 it, which, however, had but little Effect.

Thus Matters stood at the Time of the
 M 3 Union,

Union of both Kingdoms; which *Union*, as was particularly observ'd, all the *Episcopal* People, notwithstanding their pretended Loyalty to Her Majesty, and Compliment to the Church of *England*, they most warmly and universally Oppos'd, as well Privately, by their Interest, as Publickly by the Tumults, Rabbles, and Riots of the People, in which they severally joyn'd, upon all Occasions; as may be seen at large in the Account of those Rabbles, given at large in the Book before quoted, Entitled, *Collections of Original Papers, &c. relating to the Union.* Printed at Edin. in *Folio*.

The *Union* being now pass'd, in spight, as I may say, of all their Opposition, they continued to improve it to their Advantage; and to that purpose, went on with their Court to the *Church of England*, noted before to this End. They set on Foot a Notion which they expected something from, tho' afterwards they dropt it again, viz. That the *Episcopal Church*, as they call'd it, of *Scotland*, was Incorporated into the *Church of England* by the *Union*; but this having no Foundation, fell, as I said, of course. As to their Design of propagating the *English Liturgy* in *Scotland*, it met with small Encouragement, even their own *Nonjurant* Ministers, who had set up Meeting-Houses in most Parts of *Scotland*, generally rejecting it; and those few who set it up were forsaken

faken by most of their Hearers ; so that all the Remedy they had, was, as before, to obtain of their Friends, in the several Countries, who were in the Confederacy, to oblige their Tenants to comply with it, which they did with all imaginable Rigour, threatening, and even punishing those that refus'd, some by putting them out of their Farms ; and others by Imprisoning those who declin'd, or refus'd it, as particularly at *Frazersburgh*, and the Parts adjacent.

But this was not all ; the *Church Judicatories* were the next Thing which they attack'd, and this, in defiance of Law, they put in practice, by *Riot, Rabble, and Tumult*, and because these Things ought not to be left on Record, without sufficient Evidence, I shall confirm every thing by Law, and proof of Fact as I go.

And first, as to the Law : The Eleventh Act of the Seventh Session of the First Parliament of King *William*, Anno 1698, entitled, *Act for preventing Disorders in the supplying and planting of vacant Churches*, was made upon this very Occasion ; for it had been a Practice in that Time, and all along from the *Revolution*, to Rabble the Ministers and Presbyteries, when they went about either to supply, or to plant the vacant Churches ; and this Act, for a Time, did suppress the Practice. This Act being very particularly Expressive of the Case I could not omit, and is as follows :

Act for Preventing of Disorders in the Supplying and Planting of vacant Churches. August 30. 1698.

“ **O** U R Sovereign Lord, with Advice and
 “ Consent of the Estates of Parliament, for
 “ Redeeming the Godless Abuse of Rabbling, that
 “ of late, hath so frequently happen'd, in Opposi-
 “ tion to Ministers orderly sent to supply vacant
 “ Churches, and for Facilitating of the Supplying
 “ and Planting of vacant Churches, and Remo-
 “ ving all Impediments, and Disorders that may
 “ obstruct the same, strictly prohibits and dis-
 “ charges all Persons whatsoever to make any
 “ Opposition, by Rabbling, Tumult, or any means
 “ of Violence to any Minister, lawfully autho-
 “ rized, and sent to preach at any vacant Church
 “ within the Kingdom, either for supplying of
 “ the said Vacancy, or to exercise the Ministe-
 “ rial Function, as fixed Minister of the Paroch,
 “ and that under the Pains of an Hundred Pounds
 “ upon every Heritor, or Life-rentor, and of
 “ Fifty Marks upon any other unlanded Person,
 “ *toties quoties*; and for such Delinquents as are
 “ not able to pay that, they should be punish'd
 “ in their Persons as the Lords of the *Privy-Coun-
 “ cil* shall see Cause. And further, For the better
 “ Oppressing of the aforesaid Opposition, by
 “ Rabbling, Tumult, or any other Manner of
 “ Violence, his Majesty, with Advice and Con-
 “ sent aforesaid, ratifies and extends to the Case
 “ thereof, the Seventh Act of the *Parliament*, 1633,
 “ entitl'd, *Act anent Invading of Ministers*; and
 “ that, in Manner, and with the Alterations fol-
 “ lowing, and therefore statutes and ordains,
 “ That where-ever any such Rabble, or Tumults
 “ happen, the Heritors and Life-rentors, in whose
 “ Bounds

“ Bounds, whether within or without the *Paroch*,
 “ any of the Persons Dilated, or Accused as guilty of, or accessory to the same, Dwells, or Resides, shall be holden, upon Intimation made to them by the Minister injur’d, or by any in the Name of the *Presbytery*, who sent him to produce the aforesaid Persons guilty, and that they may be conven’d before the Lords of his Majesty’s *Privy-Council* for that Effect, certifying the said *Heretors*, and *Life-rentors*, That if they either failzie to produce the said Persons, if Residing within their Bounds when the aforesaid Intimation shall be made; or if they shall suffer the said Persons withdrawing, or absenting the Time of the said Intimation, thereafter to Reside, and Haunt, openly, within their Bounds for the Space of Twenty Days, then, and in these Cases, the said *Heretors* and *Life-rentors*, shall be esteem’d Connivers with the *Delinquents*, and liable as guilty act and part with them in their aforesaid *Delinquency*; and because, notwithstanding the Act, and Proclamation, and Council, made in the Year 1690, for Delivering of the Keys of vacant Churches to the *Presbyteries*, or the Persons having their Order the *Person’s* Havers thereof, do shift the same from Hand to Hand; therefore his Majesty, with Advice and Consent aforesaid, statutes and ordains, That where, and whenever, after Requisition, made by the *Presbytery* to the *Beddel*, or *Havers*, of the said Keys, the same are refus’d, and not given up, the next Magistrates, Sheriff, Lord of Regalities, or Bailiff, and their Deputies, and any Justice of the *Peace*, when requir’d by the *Presbytery*, or any of them, shall repair to the said *Kirk*, and there make Open, and Patent the Doors thereof, and put new
 “ Locks

“ Locks to the same, and deliver the Keys to the
 “ *Presbytery*, or their Order, for their free Use,
 “ making of the same Certifying the said Inferior
 “ Magistrate who shall refuse, when requir'd to
 “ make the Church patent in Manner aforesaid,
 “ he shall be liable in the Fine of an Hundred
 “ Pounds *Scots*, to be inflicted upon him by the
 “ Lords of the *Privy-Council*, for the Use of the
 “ Poor of the Paroch, by and at our, the *Presbyte-*
 “ *ries* Expences.

But these People believing that like Notice of these Acts would not be taken, as formerly had been. The *Union* being made, and the *Privy-Council* in *Scotland* being dissolv'd, they fell to the same Method and Practice of Rabbling, and Insulting the Ministers and Church Judicatories, as they had before; and that with greater Fury than ever; and as the *Gentry*, the *Lairds*, and *Heretors* abetted, and even directed the poor People to it, they were the bolder in it; assuring them, that *Episcopacy* should quickly be restor'd, and that the *Presbyterians* were going down: There are several long Accounts of this in Print, too long to fill this Book with, and therefore I omit them, only the following, because of the Issue discovering the secret Practice with the poor People, and how they were forc'd into it, in Obedience to their Masters and Chiefs; and because it came to a Determination by the Submission of the Persons guilty, I could not omit.

Here

Here follows the Report sent to the General Assembly, from the Synod of *Ross and Sutherland*, in the Case of Mr. *Chisholm*, who was sent by the Presbytery to read the Edict or Decree of the said Presbytery, for planting Mr. *J. Morison* in the vacant Church of *Gearloch*.

As Cromartie, April 12. 1711.

“ **M** R. *Thomas Chisholm*, according to Ap-
 “ pointment of the Presbytery, took Jour-
 “ ney towards *Gearloch*, about Day
 “ of *February* last, and that Night lodged in the
 “ Country of *Strathwren*, and that upon the Mor-
 “ row, late at Night, he came to *Kinlochow*, a part
 “ of the Parish of *Gearloch*, belonging to Sir
 “ *John Mac-Kenzie* of *Coul*, from which he design’d
 “ that Night to go, by Boat, to the other end of
 “ the *Loch*, but the People of that Place under-
 “ standing his Design, stop’d all the Boats, and
 “ shut all their Houses; they would neither af-
 “ ford him Lodging, nor allow him to cross the
 “ Water towards the Kirk, which oblig’d him to
 “ Travel five Miles in the Night by the *Lock-side*,
 “ and when he hired a Boat in order to go off,
 “ the next Morning, to that part of the Country
 “ where the Kirk lay; but that Night about two
 “ in the Morning, a Party of Armed Men, about
 “ Sixteen in Number, broke up the Door of the
 “ House where he Lodg’d, drag’d his two Servants
 “ by the Heels out of their Beds naked out of the
 “ House, rais’d himself out of his Bed, and compel’d
 “ him to return with them Ten Miles, before Day-
 “ light, the same Way from whence he came, and
 “ then left him on a Hill, several Miles from any
 “ House, without Meat or Drink; and one of his
 “ Servants

“ Servants fainted that Night, his Guard would
 “ not allow him (tho’ he had come to the Door
 “ of a House where they sold Liquor) to take a
 “ Dram thereof to refresh himself, or revive his
 “ Servant, but told him they did him but too
 “ great a Complement when they suffer’d him
 “ to live, so that he was necessitate to leave
 “ his Servant there in that Case, and himself,
 “ with the other Servant, essay’d to return to-
 “ ward *Gearloch* another way, hiring a Guide to
 “ lead him into *Lochbroon*, and from thence was
 “ resolv’d to go to *Gearloch*; but when he came
 “ within Three Miles of the Country of *Loch-*
 “ *broon* the Hills there being so high, and the
 “ Snow being so deep, and being fasting watching
 “ and travelling the whole Night before, and
 “ that Day *he fainted*, where he lay Speechless
 “ on the Snow for an Hour and a Half; his
 “ Guide seeing him in that Condition, threatned
 “ to leave him, which he had done, had he not
 “ been forced by his Servant to Attend: After
 “ his reviving he travell’d several Miles, till he
 “ came late that Night to the House of *Ferbquare*
 “ *Mac Craw*, in *Lochbroon*, where he lodg’d all that
 “ Night, but after Midnight, a Party of eight
 “ or nine Men, well arm’d, broke into the House,
 “ and had taken him away instantly, had not his
 “ Landlord interpos’d for a delay till Day-light,
 “ which when it appear’d they compell’d him
 “ back again to *Kinlochbow*, where, after he comes,
 “ notwithstanding all the Fatigue he had met
 “ with that Day, they would not allow him to
 “ go within a House, but kept Guard on him in
 “ the open Fields; in the mean time a new Com-
 “ pany all in Disguise reliev’d the former Com-
 “ pany, and brought him back again three Miles
 “ to

“ to a Waste-House in a Wood, where they kept
 “ him till Eleven a Clock the next Day being
 “ Saturday, but before he left that Place, being
 “ within the Parish of *Gearloch*, he read the Edict
 “ in the Hearing of those who guarded him that
 “ Night.

*The Men that guarded him thus, did not understand
 what his Reading was, but said one to another,
 Do not believe a Word he says. Thus he
 did his Business which he went for as effectu-
 ally as if they had not medled with him; for a
 formal reading the Edict within the Paroch,
 was all that the Law requir'd.*

“ The Party being reliev'd by another Party
 “ of Fifteen Men, oblig'd him to travel that Day
 “ thro' Hills and Waters, till he came again
 “ within Four Miles of *Lochbroon*, where the
 “ Company was divided, and Seven of them
 “ convey'd him thro' many deep Waters, some
 “ whereof reached very near his Arm-pits.
 “ Upon the Saturday late they brought him to the
 “ remotest Bounds of the Parish of *Contein*, there
 “ they lodg'd with him all Night, he propos'd to
 “ some of the People of that Country to preach
 “ to them, the next Day being the Sabbath, and
 “ the People shew'd their willingness to hear him,
 “ but he was no sooner up in the Morning, than
 “ they drag'd him away forward, and told him
 “ that they were under command not to part
 “ with him, till they brought him to *Fruls*;
 “ that when they came within sight of *Contein*,
 “ they left him, one of them at their departure
 “ drawing him aside, said, He ought not to be
 “ angry at them for his Treatment, seeing they
 “ did

“ did nothing but what they were commanded to
 “ do by Sir *John Mac-Kenzie* of *Coul*, their Master,
 “ whom they could not disobey; and likewise
 “ told him, that it would be in vain for him, or
 “ any other Presbyterian Minister, to attempt the
 “ going to *Gearloch*, for Sir *John* had guarded all
 “ passes to that Country. Mr. *Chisholm* that Af-
 “ ternoon went forward to the Ferry-Town of
 “ *Brahan*, where he refreshed himself with some
 “ Meat and Drink, about Seven of the Clock in
 “ the Afternoon, upon the *Sabbath-Day*, being
 “ kept from eating any Food by the several
 “ Companies that guarded him from *Friday's*
 “ Morning till then; and his Legs and Thighs
 “ were so cut with the Snow and Ice, (being ob-
 “ lig'd to Travel in a Belted Plaid) that for seve-
 “ ral Days after he came home, he was not in
 “ case to rise out of his Bed,

At Jaine, the 12th April, 1711.

“ **T**HE which Day, in presence of the Pro-
 “ vincial Synod of *Ross* and *Sutherland*, the
 “ Committee for Overtures, Bills, References and
 “ Appeals, transmitted a Representation and Pe-
 “ tition for Mr. *John Morison*, Minister of *Gear-*
 “ *loch*, which being read, was appointed to be
 “ recorded; of which Paper the Tenor follows.

To

To the very Reverend the Moderator, and Remanent Members of the Provincial Synod of Ross and Sutherland, met at Jaine, the 11th Day of April, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Eleven; the Representation and Petition of Mr. John Morison, Minister of Gearloch.

Sheweth,

“ **T** Hat whereas your Petitioner having
 “ preach’d Four Sabbaths in July last, in
 “ the Paroch of *Gearloch*, the People of that Pa-
 “ roch, with the residing Heritors and Tutors
 “ of *Gearloch* testified their Satisfaction with my
 “ Ministry, not only by their numerous At-
 “ tendance upon my Sermon, and bringing their
 “ Children to be Baptized, and others of them
 “ being Married by me, but also by proceeding
 “ thereafter Voluntarily to give me a Call from
 “ the Paroch of *Boleskine*, where I was Minister, to
 “ be their Minister: Which Call, subscrib’d by
 “ all the Residing Heritors, and several of
 “ the Inhabitants that could write, was sustained
 “ by the united Presbyteries of *Dingwall* and
 “ *Chenerie*, and they with the Presbyteries Concur-
 “ rence did prosecute and obtain (before the Re-
 “ verend Presbyteries of *Inverness*) my Transpor-
 “ tation from *Boleskine* to *Gearloch*: Upon which,
 “ and an Edict return’d, I was (upon the first of
 “ *March* last) admitted Minister of *Gearloch* at
 “ *Kirseamkirk*; this was done there in regard the
 “ Kirk of *Gearloch* is Sixty Miles distant from
 “ the Dwellings of some of the Ministers in
 “ that Presbytry, whereof there is a wild Desert
 “ eighteen Miles long, without any Inhabitant,
 “ and being then cover’d with Snow, and that
 “ their

“ their Number was few, and some of them Volituary; the Paroch of *Gearloch* being present there by their Commissioner.

“ *Thereafter* your Petitioner being for some time necessarily detained thorow Sickniess from my Paroch, upon the Second Day of *April* current, having recover'd something of my Health, I went forward to *Gearloch*, and having come, after two Days Journey, to *Kenlochow*, in the Confines of the Paroch, I was intercepted by a Party of ten Men, all Tenants to Sir *John Mac-Kenzie*, of *Coul*; the Ringleaders whereof *John Kemp* in *Kenlochow*, *Keneith Mac-Kenzie*, Weaver, and *Donald Mac-Forquair*, alias *Mac-Leran*, Shoemaker, there, who declared plainly, they had their Warrant from *Rorie Mac-Kenzie*, alias *Mac-Keneith* and *Rorie Mac-Kechin*, Taxman to the said Sir *John Mac-Kenzie*; in that Place the said Party laid violent Hands on me and my Servant, Rent my Cloaths, made Prisoners of us, and kept us three Days, under Guard, in a Cottage full of Cattle and their Dung, without Meat or Bedding; the first two Days they relieving one another by turns once every Day by a fresh supply of Men, all being Tenants to the said Sir *John*, declaring with Grief, that they were forc'd by the said *Rorie Mac Kenzie* to use this Barbarity; and that it was most lamentable to them to be so employ'd. During my said Imprisonment, the said *Rorie Mac-Kenzie* deny'd to commune with me, tho', at sometimes, we were within distance of speaking one to another, and that I saw him, and cry'd to him, so as he did hear me, but by Messages I entreated him for Liberty, to return the Way I came, or to go forward to my Kirk,

“ or,

" or, if they kept me, to allow me a clean House
 " Maintenance and Bedding during my Impri-
 " sonment; all which was refused me, and I was
 " detain'd as abovesaid till *Sabbath* Morning, at
 " which time a new Party of *Gerloch's* Tenants
 " (who is Minor) the Ringleaders whereof were
 " *Murchou Mac-Virchivicechin*, alias *Mac-Kenzie*,
 " *Murchou Mac-Millmoir* came armed, and by Vio-
 " lence pressed me and my Man out of that
 " Place the said Morning, obliging us to travel
 " a long Journey that Day, and left me *Monday*
 " Morning within two Miles of the abovemention'd
 " Sir *John's* House, and carried away my
 " Man, whither I could know, declaring when
 " they came, that they had Orders from *John*
 " *Mac-Kenzie*, Brother Germane to the late *Gerloch*,
 " so to Treat me: All the Persons in either of
 " these Parties made a secret Regret to me, declar-
 " ing they were forc'd to this barbarous Treat-
 " ment by the Menaces of Sir *John Mac-Kenzie*
 " of *Coul*, *Collin Mac Kenzie*, Tutor of *Gerloch*,
 " and the aforesaid *John Mac-Kenzie*, who they
 " said threatned all the Paroch, if they shewed
 " any Kindness to me, or any Presbyterian Mini-
 " ster in their Bounds, or did not to them all the
 " Harm in their Power: And the said Parties
 " bewailed, and declared the Universal Concern
 " of the Paroch for their Desolations there two
 " Years by past, being thirty Miles distant from
 " any Minister; so that their Children were dy-
 " ing without Baptism, and they oblig'd to travel
 " to the Hazard of their Lives for the Benefit of
 " Marriage; and expressed their Regret, that
 " they were not allow'd to enjoy me, or the
 " Benefit of my Ministry, after all their Expecta-
 " tions and Desires after me, that it was given

" out amongst them, That Presbytery was a Dy-
 " ing Cause, and that there was encouragement
 " to expect their Curats restor'd, and therefore
 " they would keep their Vacancies unsettled, and
 " laboured to keep me out, tho' settled by the
 " Presbytery. Upon Monday's Morning I used
 " some Endeavours to be allow'd, to see and con-
 " verse with Sir John Mac-Kenzie of Coul, by
 " writing to him thereanent; and upon Tuesday
 " thereafter I met with him, and gave him an
 " Account of my Treatment among his Tenants;
 " I told him they declared they had his Orders
 " for what they did; and ask'd if he would own
 " the same, or if he disown'd it, would give me
 " his safe Conduct to my Paroch, whereby I
 " might peaceably exercise my Ministry amongst
 " my Flock? To which he answer'd, That he was
 " not oblig'd to own any such Orders, but plain-
 " ly own'd, that where-ever he had Power he
 " would hinder the Settled Minister of Gerloch,
 " and how could I be stopp'd from Officiating
 " amongst my People considering the Civil Esta-
 " blishment of the Government of this Church?
 " To which he answer'd, That it would be the
 " Queen's Forces, after Application to British
 " Parliament, that would give me footing or any
 " Presbyterian Minister in that Place, or in any
 " other Paroch were he had Interest or Influence,
 " and that he would not own the Authority of
 " the Presbytery that admitted me; and thus he
 " behaved himself, tho' one of the Justices of the
 " Peace for the County, and an Heritor in the
 " Paroch of Gerloch.

" May it therefore please the very Reverend Sy-
 " nod to take the Premises to their Considera-
 " tions, and to do therein as in there Wisdoms
 " they shall judge fit.

" The

“ The Synod having heard and consider'd the
 “ said Representation and Petition, appoin-
 “ ted, that an Extract thereof be sent to the
 “ ensuing General Assembly extracted forth
 “ of the Records of the Synod.

Sic Subscribitur,

David Ross, C. S.

There is no Argument like that demonstra-
 tion of Fact; and therefore I chuse rather to
 make my Account a History of Matter of Fact
 than a Desertation on the Disputed Points.

The General Assembly met at *Edinburgh*,
May 10. 1711. The Marquis of *Armandale*
 was Her Majesty's Commissioner, who, making
 his Speech to the Assembly, presented Her Ma-
 jesty's Letter, wherein Her Majesty assuring
 the Assembly of Her Favour and Protection
 to the Church of *Scotland*, and Her Royal
 Resolution to Maintain them in all their just
 Priviledges; proceeds to recommend several
 Things to them, and particularly, *The plan-*
ting vacant Churches with Learned, Diligent,
and Pious Ministers. Note, These are the
 very Words of the Queen's Letter. Little
 did Her Majesty know, I dare say, or believe
 what Treatment the Church had met with in
 their Endeavours to plant the said Parishes
 as above.

On the 13th the Two Papers above were
 Read, by Order of the Assembly, in the
 N 2 Hearing

Hearing of the Queen's Commissioner, who, in Return, made a Speech from the Throne, expressing his great surprise at the Occasion, and his particular Dissatisfaction at such Barbarous and Inhuman Usage, giving the Assembly assurance, that both the Case should be directly, and fully laid before Her Majesty, in order to punish the Authors thereof with the utmost severity, and for preventing the like for the Future. These were the very Words. Nor was the said Commissioner worse than his Word; and the Consequence was visible, for Process being order'd in the Criminal-Courts against the Persons guilty of another Riot of the like Kind, they submitted to the Church-Judicatories, and finding the promis'd Encouragement from England fail'd them, they humbled themselves as Low as they had before carry'd themselves High and Furious, And because the Case is so notorious, I shall end this Chapter with it, as a sufficient Testimony of the Behaviour of those People to the Establish'd Church; and of the Motives which have encourag'd them to it; and above all, a Discovery of the Force put upon the poor People, who are brought into these Things both against Inclination and against Conscience only, not daring to Displease their Superiors, whose absolute Dominion over them, is the true and only Cause of their being concern'd in these Things.

*The following is the Libel, or Indictment,
brought against the Persons concerned in
the Rabble of Old-Deer.*

' **A** NNE by the Grace of GOD, Queen of Great Britain,
 ' *France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith;* to our
 ' Lovits, Macers, Messengers at Arms; our Sheriffs in that
 ' part, conjunctly and severally, specially, constitute, greet-
 ' ing, FORASMUCH as, it is humbly meant and com-
 ' plain'd to Us by our Lovits, *James Keith, younger, of Keith-*
 ' *field, and Alexander Thompson of Portletham,* two of the
 ' Justices of the Peace of the Shire of *Aberdeen, Robert*
 ' *Stuart, Merchant, one of the present Baillies of Aberdeen,*
 ' and Mr. *John Dundas of Philipston, Advocate, Procurator*
 ' for the Church, for the Church's Interest, and in Name
 ' of the Presbytery of *Deer;* and Sir *D. Dalrymple of Hales,*
 ' Baronet, our Advocate for our Interest; upon Mr. *John*
 ' *Keith of Glasgo-ego, pretended Preacher,*
 ' &c. * That where, by the Laws of * *Here the Names*
 ' God, and by the Laws of this and all *of the Rabblers*
 ' other well-govern'd Nations, intruding *were added.*
 ' upon any vacant Church, without a
 ' Legal Call and Admission, raising or spreading False and
 ' Seditious Reports, the raising of Tumults, the gathering
 ' in a disorderly manner with Weapons and Instruments of
 ' Violence, and of Slaughter; the Invading, Assaulting,
 ' Beating, or Wounding of any of our Leiges, especially
 ' Ministers of the Gospel, or the Ministers and Executors of
 ' the Laws of the Nation, and any violent, forcible, and
 ' unwarrantable opposing of them, or either of them, in
 ' the lawful Exercise of their respective Offices; and the
 ' stirring up, hounding out, encouraging, conniving at, or
 ' allowing of such as are Guilty of the said Crimes; and
 ' the seizing, robbing, spuilheing, and away taking, by
 ' Fraud or Violence, of any Man's Goods, Ware or Provi-
 ' sions; and the convocating and meeting together in Arms,
 ' for these Ends, are all Crimes of an high Nature, and se-
 ' verely punishable. Likeas, by the 22d Act, Sess. 5. Parl.
 ' King *William and Queen Mary,* all Intrusion upon any
 ' Church, without a legal Call or Admission, is prohibit
 ' under the Pains therein express'd: And by that same Act,
 ' Ministers

Ministers deposed, are prohibit to exercise the Office of
 the Ministry. And likewise, by the 27th Act of the 11th
 Parl. 7a. VI. it is Statuted and ordain'd, That whatsoever
 Person or Persons Invades any Ministry, or puts violent
 Hands on them, shall be punish'd therefore with all Rigour,
 and incur the Tinsel of all their moveable Goods for the
 said Invasion and Violence alienarly, albeit no Slaughter
 or Mutilation follow thereupon. But prejudice of greater
 Punishment if any higher Crime concur; and all Persons
 delated of the said Offences, are order'd to be call'd and
 presented before the Justice and his Deputies, at the In-
 stance of the Minister, King's Advocate, Procurator for
 the Kirk, or any other who will pursue the said Offences.
 Item, by the 7th Act, Parl. 1. Ch. I. Anno 1633, the said
 Act is ratified, with this Explanation and Addition, That
 whosoever Invades any Minister, or puts violent Hands on
 them, by themselves or their Men, Tenents, Servants or
 any others, by their hounding out, Direction, or Allowance,
 for whatsoever Cause or Occasion otherways than by Order
 of Law, or doth offer Violence to them, shall incur the
 like Pain as is contain'd in the said Act, and shall be judg-
 ed after the Form and Manner therein
 The Libel prescrib'd: And it is declared, that the
 Enumerates many same shall be extended to all Ministers
 more Acts. whatsoever, having Power by Lawful
 Warrant to Preach and Administer the
 Sacraments. And in like manner, the 2d Act, Sessi. 7.
 King William and Queen Mary, Parl. 1698: †
 Yet NEVERTHELESS it is of Verity, that the Persons
 above-named, or one or other, or all of them, shaking off
 all Fear of God, and Regard to our Laws, are guilty Actors
 art and part of the foresaid Crimes, or of one or other of
 them respectively: In so far as the Paroch of Old-Deer be-
 coming vacant by the Death of Mr. George Keith the for-
 mer Incumbent, who departed this life upon the 16th Day
 of July last by past, the said Mr. John Keith, sometime a
 Minister, now deposed, does intrude in the said Church,
 without any Order of Law, and Preaches and Exercises
 other parts of the Ministry in that Paroch: And albeit the
 Presbytery, within a very few Days after the said Incum-
 bent's Death, did both by Word and Writ, apply to, and
 earnestly deal with the Heritors, to give them ready and
 peaceable Access to the Church; yet the Church-Doors
 were shut against them, and those sent by them to Preach
 there, were deny'd Access to the Church, and forc'd to
 Preach in a Meeting-House: And the Presbytery being de-
 sirous

frous to have the said Parish settled in the Ordinary manner, and finding that they could not get Access to the Church by their Entreaties, they were necessitated, in *October* last, to apply to the Justices of the Peace, to have the Church Doors made Patent to them, as the Law directs; and the said Justices did enact, That in case the Paroch of *Old-Deer* did not give a legal Call, and make Patent Doors to the *Presbytery*, before the 23d of *January* then next, they would order their Constables to make them Patent: And failing this, That they would, at their next Quarterly-Meeting, to be held at *Old-Deer* the 6th Day of *March*, order the same: And upon the said Day, the *Presbytery* having again apply'd to the said Justices of the Peace, for the End aforesaid, the *Heritors* above-nam'd, who oppos'd the *Presbytery*, did desire that the settling of a Minister in the said Paroch, might be delay'd till the next Synod in *April*; and the *Presbytery* were so desirous of Peace, that they acquiesced to it, providing the Keys of the *Kirk-Doors* were presently deliver'd up, and they allow'd peaceable Access to the said Church, that they might thereby be put in case in the usual Manner to promote a Parochial legal Call, but the *Heritors* having refus'd this, the Justices of the Peace did appoint any one or two of their Number residing within the *Presbyteries* of *Deer* or *Ellen*, to make open the Doors conform to Law: The *Presbytery* being by this Refusal and Opposition of the *Heritors* debarred from all Access to promote a Legal Parochial Call; and the Time allow'd by Law for such a Call being long elapsed, and thereby the Right of Planting being devolv'd in the *Presbytery's* Hand, they did resolve to proceed to the Settlement of a Minister therein; and having the Request and Concourse of a great Number of the *Heritors* for Mr. *John Gordon*, Probationer, Son to *John Gordon*, late Provost of *Aberdeen*, they proceeded to settle him in the said Paroch; and to that purpose, having sent Mr. *Thomas Gordon*, Minister at *Loan-May*, upon Sunday the 11th Day of *March* last, to serve his Edict; several of the foresaid Persons, and particularly the said *Charles Gordon*, in Drinness and others, having posted themselves at the *Kirk-stile* in Arms, did violent Oppose the said Mr. *Thomas Gordon*, by Threatning to beat out his Brains, and holding a great Batton over his Head, and Swearing he would beat him down, if he would not presently be gone: And thereby the said Mr. *Thomas Gordon* being forc'd to retire, the said *Charles* and his Accomplices did pursue the said Mr. *Thos. Gordon*, throwing Stones at him, to the endangering of his Life,

Life, and abus'd and bedawb'd him with Mire and Dirt :
 And such was their Malice, not only against the *Presby-*
tery and those sent by them to Preach at that Paroch, but
 even against private Christians who came to have the Be-
 nefit of the Ordinances, that they assaulted a Gentlewo-
 man call'd *Elizabeth Thompson*, Neice to *Port-Letham*,
 who came to hear a Sermon, and threw her into the Wa-
 ter of *Ugie*, and kept her under Water until she was almost
 drowned; and took her Bible from her, and TORE IT:
 And this they did from a Design, no doubt, to discourage
 People to own the Establish'd Church.

And upon the 21st of *March*, the Day before the intend-
 ed Ordination, when Mr. *John Gordon* and two or three
 with him, were coming into the Kirktown of *Deer* in a
 peaceable manner, the said Persons, or one or other of them,
 or one or other of the Rabble, came out and met them
 with Scare-crows in their Hands, wherewith they made a
 hideous Noise, and scared and frighted the Horses upon
 which they Rode, to the endangering of the Riders Lives.
 And Mr. *John Gordon* having gone in privately by the
 back of the Town, and the rest going on in the High-Way
 that enters the Town, they were attack'd there by another
 Company of the Persons above complain'd upon, both Men
 and Women, arm'd with great Rungs, shod Padles, or
 Plough Spades, and were beat and wounded most severely
 by the said *George Keith*, *William Sherril*, or one or other
 of the forefaids Persons, so that with much difficulty they
 escap'd to *John Riccart's* House.

And upon the 22d of *March*, being the Day prefix'd for
 the Ordination, the *Presbytery* of *Deer* having come to the
 Kirktown of Old *Deer*, they found the Persons abovenam'd,
 with a Multitude of others conven'd together in a tumultu-
 ary manner, and arm'd some with GUNS, others with
 Swords, Corn-Forks, Durks, Bow-Cutts, and other offen-
 sive Instruments: And the said *Presbytery* having enter'd
 the House of *James Bruce* in Old *Deer*; and having con-
 stitute their Meeting, they apply'd to *James Keith*, younger,
 of *Keithfield*, Justice of Peace, requiring him, in obedience
 to Law, and to the above-mentioned Appointment of the
 Quarter-Session, to make open the Doors of the Church,
 that they might have Access to perform the Ordination;
 and *Alexander Thompson* of *Port-Letham*, another Justice
 of Peace, being present, *Keithfield* requir'd his Concur-
 rence; and the said Justices requir'd the Keys of the
 Kirk-Doors from the Bedel, under Form of Instrument;
 and perceiving that the People that were thus conven'd
 intended

intended to make Opposition, the said Justices of the Peace requir'd the Assistance of Captain *John Forbes of Boyndley*, the Bailie *Stewart*, *James Sandilands*, Son to Provost *Sandilands*, in *Aberdeen*, and others that had come to join in Divine Worship, and to countenance the Ordination; and then coming out towards the Church-Stile, which was fast shut and baracadoed by the Rabble, they found a great Body of the foresaids Rabblers, both Men and Women, posted without the Kirk-Stile, arm'd as above, and having several Heaps of Stones gathered beside them; which Body of People stept aside, and gave way to the Justices, Ministers, and others with them, until they were got in betwixt two Houses joining with their Corners to the two Sides of the Kirk-Stile, and so soon as the Justices, Ministers, and others were enter'd in betwixt the said two Houses, the fore-mentioned Body surrounded and inclosed them; and then another great Body of the Rabble, armed as above, which was within the Kirk-yard, (the Persons above complain'd upon, making a Part of both the said Bodies) did climb over the Church-yard Dike, and got upon the Tops of the said two Houses, and being furnish'd with Stones of great Bigness by their Accomplices, they threw them down with Violence upon the said Justices, Presbytery, and others that joined with them, while, in the mean Time these, from the Church-yard, were throwing Stones; and the Rabble that had surrounded them behind, were both throwing Stones and striking at them with their Swords, Bow-Cutts, and Butts of their Guns, whereby a great many of them were most dangerously hurt and wounded, particularly the said Laid of *Keithfield*, Justice of the Peace, was throwndown to the Ground, and was so beat and wounded by the said *William*, *Charles*, and *Charles Gordon*, or one or other of the Persons above-complain'd upon, or one or other of the said Rabble, that he hardly escaped with his Life; and the Laird of *Portletham*, the other Justice of Peace, was beat by 'em; and Mr. *Alexander Anchinleck*, Minister at *Frazersburgh*, Moderator of the said Presbytery, was so beat upon the Back with Stones thrown by one or other of the said Persons complain'd upon, or at least by the Rabble which they headed, or at least did join with them, that he was in great Pain a long Time afterwards: And the above-mentioned Mr. *Thomas Gordon* was cut in the Forehead to the Skull, and had other two Wounds in his Head, and two in his Hands; all given by one or other of the foresaid Persons. Mr. *James Anderson*, Minister at *Rathen*, Mr. *Thomas Blackwell*, Minister

nister at *Aberdeen*, and Mr. *John Duncan*, Preacher of the Gospel, were also beat and hurt; and *James Sandilands*, Son to Provost *Sandilands* in *Aberdeen*, who was one of them that were called by the said Justices to their Assistance, had his Thumb almost cut off by the foresaid *William, Charles*, or one or other of the Persons above complained upon, or one or other of the foresaid Rabble; and *James Deans*, Dean of *Gild* in *Aberdeen*, the said *John Forbes*, *Bailie Stewart*, *Thomas Forbes* in *Ludgubairn*, *William Fife* in *Gilkimstoun*, *Andrew Burnet* of *Elrig*, *Charles Forbes*, and *Walter Gordon*, Merchants, *John Duff*, Messenger, *William Tait* in *Ludgubairn*, and many more, were hurt and wounded by the said *George Rob*, or one or other of the Persons complain'd upon, or one or other of the foresaid Rabble. The saids Justices of Peace, Ministers, and others with them, finding themselves thus inclos'd, and all like to be kill'd, they were oblig'd to force their Way back again through the Rabble that surrounded them behind; a Part of which Rabble did pursue them to *John Riccart's* Clofs, some throwing Stones over the Houses upon them, and others firing Guns after them with such Fury, that the Colfing, or Forrage, fired the Thatch of *Riccart's* House; and thereafter the said Rabble went into the said *John Riccart's* House, where the Presbytery's Dinner was provided, and first enquir'd if any of the Ministers were there, and threatned, that if any of them, or these that had joined with them, were found concealed in the House, they would set Fire to both Ends of it; and then they seized and did eat up the Victuals, and carried a Part of the Liquors out to the Mercat-Crofs and drunk it, having a Bag-pipe all the while playing to them, and then went out to meet Mr. *Keith*, the Intruder, who was coming in to *Kirkstoun*. The Presbytery being thus hotly handled, and perceiving that they could not get the Ordination performed without the inevitable Hazard of their Lives, they were necessitate to go Home without finishing the same. As the manner of acting in this Rabble was most unaccountable, so the same did not happen by meer Accident, but was contrived aforehand, and the Measures laid down by the saids *William Baird* of *Auchmedden*, *James Keith*, of *Creiche*, or one or other of them: In so far as, *1mo.* They or some of them kept a Meeting at *Old Deer*, about the 9th or 10th of *March* last, or one or other of the Days of the said Month, wherein they concerted the foresaid Opposition. *2do.* They contrived and caused publish thro' the Paroch a false and seditious Paper, wherein they

libel

libel and rail against the establish'd Government, Order and Worship of this Church, on purpose to excite the People against the Presbytery, and pretending that they could not in Conscience joyn therewith. They declare their intended Opposition to the Settlement of the Paroch with a Presbyterian Minister; and they contrived and drew up another Paper, which they caused read in the Church, upon the Lord's Day, immediately before the said Rabble, Warning and Enjoining the Parochioners to meet together at the Day appointed for the Ordination, in order to oppose the same. 3110. They ordered several Persons, some Days before the appointed Diet of Ordination, to Warn and Enjoin the People to convene the foresaid Day for the said End, and sent some to *Lennaboe's* Mercat, to stir up the People there conven'd for the same Purpose; and the said Gentlemen, or one or other of them, did encourage the Rabble, by promising to free them of all Charges and Expences, and to protect them from any Punishment that should be inflicted on them, upon account of their Accession to the said Tumult. And albeit the said *William Baird*, of *Auchmodden*, was petitioned, publicly, when sitting in his own Baron Court, by *Anna Greden*, Spouse to *John Turner*, Clerk, in *Old Deer*, representing, That her House was molested and damnified by some of his Men or Tenants, who threatened her for harbouring of Mr. *John Gordon*, and entreating the said Rabble might be discourag'd; yet he not only refused to grant her Request, but mocked and ridiculed her, even in the Court-place, and before a great many of the Persons guilty, who were there present: Yea, there were of his own Domestick Servants present at the said Rabble, and very active therein: And the said *Silvester Douglass*, *George Rankin*, and *Charles Morison*, gave Orders to some of the said Rabble, That they should stand their Ground against all the Persons that should be there, seeing there were no Soldiers in the Country to oppose them.

And the said *Charles Morison* came armed to *Old Deer* the same Day that the Rabble happen'd; and tho' he was desir'd by the Justices of Peace to assist them in making Patent Doors, yet he did it not: And the said *John Forbes* not only came there armed the same Day, but brought with him several of the People of *Pitfour's* Ground, and even of his own Domestick Servants, and order'd them to assist in the Rabble: And the saids *Creichie*, *Brusie* and *Auchbrenny* did give out, that by a late Act of the *British* Parliament **PATRONAGES** were restored, and protested

protested for the Benefit of that Act, and that the Pres-
 bytery should not presume to go on in their Intention of
 planting their Church, and threatned them, that if they
 went on with it, they might expect to be rabbled: And
 this they also exprest in the Reasons of Appeal given in
 to the Presbytery by them, for themselves, and in name of
 some others of the *Heritors*, or at least by *William Bow-*
man, Indweller in *Deer*, their Commissioner, whereof an
 authentick Copy is in the Hands of the Clerk of Justi-
 ciary, and the Mandate by the said *Bowman's* Constituents
 is in the Hands of one or other of the Defenders them-
 selves, or in the Hands of one or other of the Witnesses,
 subjoin'd in the List to the Libel: At least the said Man-
 date, signed by all or one or other of the said Defenders,
 was seen and read, and the subscriptions known by the
 Witnesses subjoin'd to the Libel, or a sufficient Number
 of them, against Mr. *John Gordon's* Ordination; and the
 said Persons, or one or other of them, to animate and en-
 courage such of the People as are disaffected to the Estab-
 lished Church, did also give out, That *Mr. Greenshield's*
 Case being decided in his Favour by the House of Peers,
 they might, if they opposed Mr. *Gordon*, quickly expect an
 Episcopal Minister, or some Expression to this purpose:
 Thus boasting and abusing the Name of Authority info-
 lently against the Establish'd Church, in Contempt of the
 Laws, and most solemn Treaty of UNION. And sicklike
 the said *William, Charles*, elder, and *William and John,*
Charles's two Sons, with a great many others of the
 Persons above complained upon, or at least one or other
 of them armed as above, did, upon the said 22d Day of
March, or one or other of the Days of the said Month,
 seize upon two Horses belonging to the said *Bailie Stuart*,
 loaded with Goods, Wares, Furniture or Provision, of a
 very considerable Value of about 40 lib. Sterling Money,
 coming towards the *Kirkstoun* of *Old Deer*, and did violently
 seize the same; and having abused and maltreated the
 two Men that had the Charge thereof, they carry'd the
 same off by Force, and did dispose thereupon as they
 thought fit; excepting only two Trunks belonging to the
 said *Robert Stuart*, whilk they thought fit, at their Season,
 to send back; And for doing this they pretended the
 Laird of *Auchmedden's* Order. And the said Mr. *John*
Keith having been deposed by the Sentence of the said
 Presbytery of *Deer*, and never having any legal Call by
 the People, nor lawful Admission to be Minister of the said
 Paroch of *Old Deer*, does, contrary to all Law and Order,
 possess

possess the said Church, Preaches and exercises other Parts
 of the Ministerial Function within the said Paroch; and
 the said Mr. *John Keith* did so far encourage the said
 Rabble, that after he return'd from *Duggat*
 of *Bisse*, a profess'd *Papist's* House, (whither he had retir'd
 during the Heat of the Action) he very kindly saluted the
 Actors, and gave them his hearty Thanks for their good
 Behaviour, and went that Evening to the said *John Ric-*
carr's House, where a part of the said Rabblers were
 assembled Eating, and Drinking, and rejoycing for their
 Victory, and continued there among them; and at length
 they came to that pitch of Drunkenness, that they fell a
 struggling among themselves, and threw one another in
 the Fire in his Presence: Likeas, the said *William Baird*
 of *Auchmedden*, *James Keith* of *Creichie*, Heritors, with-
 in whose Bounds or Ground the other Persons above
 complain'd upon do dwell and reside, getting Intima-
 tions made to them conform to the said Act of Passia-
 ment, 1698, and other Acts therein mentioned, to pro-
 sons of the said Mob above-comduce such of the Per-
 plain'd upon, as do reside upon their respective Grounds,
 to the effect they may underly the Law for their foresaids
 Crimes and Offences. And the saids *William Baird*, *James*
Keith of *Creichie*, *Silvester Douglass*, *James Keith* of *Bruxie*,
 and *George Ranken*, Heritors, are, by the Laws above-
 mentioned, bound to produce and sist before Our Lords
 Justice-General, Justice-Clerk, and Lords Commissioners of
 Justiciary, the other Persons above complain'd upon, their
 Tenents and Servants, to underly the Law for the Crimes
 above-mention'd, or otherwise to be punished as the said
 Acts ordain, and the foresaids-Persons above-nam'd, who
 seized the foresaid Goods, Wares, Furniture or Provision,
 ought not only to be decerned to restore the same, upon
 the Pursuer's giving his Oath in litem or Value thereof
 above libelled. But they and the whole other Persons,
 Masters, Tenents and Servants, being found guilty by the
 Verdict of an Assize, ought to be decerned to pay the Sum
 of One Thousand Pound Sterling Money of Cost, Skaith
 and Damage, and to be otherwise punished in their Per-
 sons and Goods, with the Pains of Law, to the Example
 and Terror of others to commit the like in Time coming.
 OUR WILL IS HEREFOR, and We charge you
 strictly, and command, that in continent this our Letters
 seen, ye pass, and in our Name and Authority command,
 and charge the saids above complain'd upon, and ilk one
 of them, To come and find sufficient Caution and Surety
 acted

' acted in the Books of Adjournal, That they shall compear
 ' before Our Lords Justice-General, Justice-Clerk, and Com-
 ' missioners of Justiciary, within the Tolbooth, or Criminal
 ' Court-House of *Edinburgh*, the 14th Day of *June* next
 ' to come, in the House of Cause, there to underly the
 ' Law for the Crimes above-mentioned, and that under the
 ' Pains contained in the Acts of *Parliament*, and that ye
 ' charge them Personally, if they can be apprehended, and
 ' failzieing thereof, at their Dwelling-Places, and by open
 ' Proclamation at the Mercat-Cross of the Head-burgh of
 ' the Shire, Stewartry, Regality, or other Jurisdiction where
 ' they dwell, to come and find the said Caution and Surety
 ' acted in Manner foresaid, within Fifteen Days next, after
 ' they be charged by you thereto, under the Pain of Rebelli-
 ' on, and putting of them to Our Horn; whilk Fifteen Days
 ' being by gone, and the said Sovery not being found, nor
 ' no Intimation made by them to you of the finding there-
 ' of: That incontinent thereof ye denounce them our Re-
 ' bells, and put them to our Horn, Escheat and In bring all
 ' their moveable Goods and Gear to our Use for their Con-
 ' temption and Disobedience; and that ye, within Fifteen
 ' Days hereafter, cause registrate their our Letters, with the
 ' Executions thereof in our Books of Adjournal conform to
 ' the Act of *Parliament* made thereanent; and if they come
 ' and find the said Caution (Intimation being always made
 ' by them to you of the finding thereof) that ye summon an
 ' Assize hereto, not exceeding the Number of Forty Five
 ' Persons, together with such Witnesses who best know the
 ' Variety of the Premises, whose Names shall be given you
 ' in a Roll, subscribed by the saids Complainers, or either of
 ' them: To compear before Our saids Lords Day and
 ' Place foresaid. The saids Persons of Inquest, to pass upon
 ' their Assize, and the saids Witnesses to bear let land and
 ' sooth-fast, Witnessing, in Sua far as they know, or shall
 ' be speir'd at them, ilk Person under the Pain of One
 ' Hundred Merks, according to Justice, as ye will answer
 ' to Us thereupon. The whilk to do we commit to you
 ' conjunctly and severally, Our full Power by this our Let-
 ' ters delivering them by you duely execute and indorsed
 ' again to the Bearer. Given under our Signet at *Edin-*
 ' burgh, the Seventeenth Day of April, and of our Reign
 ' the Tenth Year, 1711.

Ex deliberatione dominorum Commissionariorum Justiciarum.

Ja. Montgomerie

The

The Terms of Accommodation between the Heritors of the Paroch of Old-Deer, and the Presbytery of the Bounds,

Are as follows, viz.

- First, ' *The HERITORS have engaged to give all due and suitable Encouragement to Mr. Gordon, the Presbyterian Minister, whom they Rabbl'd and Oppos'd; and to give him the peaceable Possession of the Kirk-Manse, Glebe and Stipend, and to defend and maintain him in the same, during his Incumbency.*
2. ' *They have engaged to refund the Charges and Expenses the Presbytery have been at; and the HERITORS have engaged to cause Four of the principal Rabblers to appear before the Congregation of Old-Deer, there to be publickly Rebuked, (that is to say, to be set on the Stool of Repentance.)*
3. ' *To cause all the Rabblers, contained in the principal Letters, (i. e. Indictment) to subscribe a Paper wherein they acknowledge their Sin before God, and the Offence given to the Presbytery; and promise and engage in Time coming, to behave and act as it becomes good Christians and Subjects, and not to molest or insult any of the Ministers; and this under the Penalties of a Thousand Marks, Scots, and this Paper to be read thro' all the Churches of the Presbytry; on which Terms all Proceedings were to be discharged.*

Thus the Presbytery has full Satisfaction for the Insult offer'd them; and one would think this might be full Satisfaction to any body in the World, that the Fact was true, and that there was such a Rabble at *Old-Deer*. If any Man shall doubt it after this, I cannot think that such a Man is fit for any Body to take Notice of.

After this one would think there needed no more to be said to clear up, or expose either the Conduct of the Church of *Scotland* to the *Episcopal Dissenters*, or the Returns of the *Episcopal Dissenters* to them.

But

But there seems yet a Necessity to bring another Scheme upon the Stage, in Order to introduce the Affair of *Toleration*, since unhappily Establish'd there by Parliament, and this is a Case no less publick than the *Toleration* itself, viz. The Case of *Green-shields*, and of his Setting up the *Common-Prayer-Book* in *Edinburgh*, of which much Noise has been made, and which has been represented in so many several Ways to the World, that it requires some Difficulty to give a True and Impartial Account of it, which, nevertheless, I shall endeavour to do as briefly and as authentickly as possible.

Whether the Employing this Man to make the Attempt in *Edinburgh*, and in the Face of the Magistrates, was a Design of the *Episcopal Party* to make an Experiment upon the People of that City or no; or whether it was a meer Undertaking of the Man for a Livelyhood, upon the Encouragement of the *Englishmen* in the several Offices of the *Customs*, *Excise*, *Exchequer*, &c. as he pretended, I shall not dispute here.

But that it was an Attempt Illegal in its Circumstances, and particularly manag'd to insult the Magistrates, and try the Extent of their Authority, remains no more a Doubt, as by the Historical Part in the ensuing Chapter shall appear.



C H A P. V.

Containing an Account of the Attempt of Mr. Greenshields to set up the English Liturgy in the City of Edinburgh, with the several Processes, Appeals, &c. in that Case, till the final Determination thereof in the House of Lords; as also the Proceedings, in England, in Parliament, for the Introduction of the said Liturgy in Scotland, till the compleating thereof, and erecting Toleration in Scotland.



THE Attempt of setting up the *Common-Prayer* in *Edin.* had not made such a Noise, as it did at this time, if the Manner of doing it had not satisfy'd the People there, that it was not the saying the *Common-Prayer*, or reading the *Liturgy*, which was the Design, but the affronting the Magistrates; flying in the Face of the Laws, and insulting the
O Government,

Government, as well Ecclesiastick as Civil; for the *Liturgy* was read in Two several Meeting-Houses in *Edinburgh* before, and the Ministers reading it met with no Disturbance at all; but this not satisfying, it was manag'd now in such a Manner, as that the Magistrates must take Cognizance of it, or no longer pretend to the Legal Power of Magistrates in that City.

The first Step taken in this Affair, was to cause a Rumour to be spread Abroad, That Her Majesty had given the *Old-Kirk* at *Haly-Rood-House*, being the *Chappel-Royal* belonging to the Queen's Palace, to the *Episcopal* People to turn into a Chappel for the Use of the *English* Gentlemen who belong'd to the several Offices of the *Customs*, *Excise*, *Exchequer*, *Army*, or *Navy*, which were or should Occasionally be there, to have the *English* Service read therein, and to have the Minister preach in a Gown, and read Prayers in a Surplice, as in *England*.

The Account of this gave no great Uneasiness, because the People had quickly an Assurance, even from the Queen Herself, that no *Innovation* should be encourag'd, and that no such Grant was, or should be, obtain'd for the said Chappel.

But a Plot being ripe, a Tool was not long wanting; one *Greenfields*, a poor and contemptible Fellow, a *Scots* Man by Birth, but lately come from *Ireland*, was found, or,

as

as some say, brought over as a fit Instrument for this Work. The Character of this Fellow is very brief: He was the Son of a Bedell, or Precentor, or Clark, near about, or in *Lithgo*; his Reputation, as to publick Scandal, was charg'd with open Drunkenness, lewd Behaviour, Singing Beastly Songs, and the like; his Assurance was unquestion'd; he had taken the Oaths to the Queen; was very meanly Taught; had little Clergy; mean Parts; and was a most wretched Preacher: But all these Defects were supply'd in Face, and he never wanted to put himself up at a good Price.

This Instrument being obtain'd, the next Thing was to put it into a Method; for this Reason, and to put the same Face on it that was pretended before, the Thing was propos'd to some *English* Men in the Office of the *Customs*, and *Exchequer*, who willingly (tho' weakly) came into the Snare, and agreed to subscribe him *8ol. per Ann.* to read the *English* Liturgy to them, preach, &c. and the Subscription for this was actually begun.

Upon this, about *July*, 1709, he began, and having taken a House in the most publick Part of the City, he open'd his Meeting just at the Cross of *Edinburgh*, which is the Parade or Exchange of all the People of any Business or Fashion, and especially where, on every *Sabbath*, the Magistrates go in their Formalities to the Great Church.

Two Things in this Attempt alarm'd the People ; 1. Its being done so in the Face of the Government, and in Contempt of the Magistrates, or, indeed, of the Laws : And, 2. That it was pretended to be own'd by the *English* Men, who being newly United, and having Places and Sallaries there from the State, were, as it may be said, Eating the Nation's Bread ; and in whom, therefore, the Insolence was very Affronting ; and the more in, that it was at a Time when Her Majesty was Daily Assuring the People She would never encourage any *Invasion* of their Privileges, &c.

Upon these Considerations the Mobb were very hardly restrain'd from Falling upon them with Violence, and the following Step was rather encourag'd to put a Stop to, and prevent the common People's Fury, than from any other Reason. The Commission of the General Assembly happen'd to be Sitting just at that Time, to whom the Citizens of *Edinburgh* apply'd, in a Petition to them, to take Cognizance of this Attempt, as an *Innovation* in their Worship, and an *Invasion* on the Privileges of the *Church of Scotland*, and that they would immediately silence and put a Stop to the same ; such was the Zeal of the Inhabitants, that, in less than Two Hours, they got several Hundred Hands to this Petition.

Pursuant to this Petition, the Commission
referr'd

referr'd the Matter to the *Presbytry*, as you will see at large afterward; and accordingly the *Presbytry* cited him before them, where he appear'd, but with great Haughtiness, disowning their Authority, and refusing to give any Account of himself. The History of his Behaviour, and their Treating him there is publick, already, in many particular Tracts, and needs not to take up any Room in this Tract: Only, that future Ages may have a right Notion of that Affair, it is necessary to observe some few of the most material Passages that relate to it, more particularly, that the *Presbytry* enquir'd nothing of, nor pass'd any Censure about his Setting up a New Worship in *Scotland*, viz. Reading the *English* Liturgy, or Common-Prayer, nor of his Principles, as being *Episcopal*, but ask'd him, particularly, *By what Authority he exercis'd the Office of a Minister in that Place?* He refus'd to answer for some Time, but at length told them, *He was an Ordain'd Minister.* They ask'd him, *What Minister?* He answer'd, *A Minister of the Church of England.* Being requir'd to produce his Letters of *Ordination*, he declin'd that also for some Time, but, at last, produc'd Orders granted by a *Scots* Depos'd, Exauctorate Bishop.

Upon this, the *Moderator* of the *Presbytry*, or one of the Members, ask'd him how he could have the Face to say to them before, *That he was a Minister of the Church of England?*

land? To which he gave this absurd Reply, viz. *That the Church of England, and the Episcopal Church of Scotland were Encorporated by the Union.* But the Emptiness of this Shift being soon Expos'd, and he Obliged not to Insist upon it, he was told, his Orders were insufficient; and the said Bishop's being totally Deprived by the Laws of *Scotland*, Exauctorated and Disabled, they had no more power to Authorize any Man to Preach, or admit any Man into Orders, in the Kingdom of *Scotland*; and therefore, tho' he might esteem himself a Minister on that account, they could not allow him to be such; nor had he any Legal Authority to Exercise the Office of a Minister, within the Bounds of that Church. What Law they grounded this upon, and that it was really agreeable to an express Act of Parliament, we shall see by and by in the Defence made to it by the Magistrates of *Edinb.*

He insisted upon his Orders; and Disowning their Authority, went out of the Court abruptly, refusing to Answer to any Thing they should Object. Whereupon the *Presbytry*, Thinking it their Duty to maintain the *Legal Authority* of a Church Judiciary, which they were fully vested with by the Laws of the Land, thought fit to pass their Sentence, which they drew up in Form, and he refusing to obey their Summons, or appear when cited, they caus'd their said Sentence

tence to be signify'd to him, and Copies left at his Lodgings by the proper Officer, as the Law directs.

I noted before, that the Commission of the Assembly was then sitting, and it should be observ'd, That they enter'd the more willingly into this Examination, to prevent the Fury and Mischief of a Rabble, which they foresaw would be the Event, the People being enraged, to the last Degree, at the Insolence of this *Greenfields*, and his Behaviour, which was particularly provoking; also, as I noted, it was at the Request, and upon the Address, or Petition of the Inhabitants of *Edinburgh*: The Copy of which I think it is very proper to give at large, and is as follows:

Unto the very Reverend and Honourable the Commission of the late General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.

We the Neighbourhood of the Town of Edinburgh and Suburbs underscrib'd, do most humbly represent,

‘ **T**HAT notwithstanding the many good
 ‘ Laws and Acts of Parliament, and
 ‘ particularly the Act 6 and 7 Parliaments,
 ‘ 1707. made for the Settlement and Security of this National Church, and against
 ‘ all Encroachments upon Her Right, or
 ‘ Privileges, or Innovations in her Doctrine,
 ‘ Worship, Discipline, or Government; and
 ‘ of

‘ of Her Majesty’s repeated Assurances in
 ‘ Her Royal Proclamations, Letters to Her
 ‘ Privy-Council, and the General Assemblies
 ‘ of this Church, to maintain and defend
 ‘ the same in its present Establishments,
 ‘ against all such unlawful Intrusions, In-
 ‘ croachments, and Innovations, particularly
 ‘ Her Majesty’s Proclamation against un-
 ‘ lawful Intruders into Churches and Man-
 ‘ ses in *Scotland*, dated *Septemb. 20. 1708*.

‘ Yet, to our very great Surprize, several
 ‘ of the *Episcopal Clergy* (prompted and in-
 ‘ stigate thereunto by the *Jacobite Party*,
 ‘ who are equally disaffected to the Civil as
 ‘ to our Ecclesiastick Constitution) have of-
 ‘ late not only Erected Meeting-Houses in
 ‘ this City, after the *Scots* Episcopal Way,
 ‘ but also in several Places here have set up
 ‘ the *English* Service, which, as it is contrary
 ‘ to our Establishment, and very grievous
 ‘ and offensive to us and all others, who are
 ‘ well-affected to Her Majesty and the pre-
 ‘ sent Establishment, so it will be of fatal
 ‘ and dangerous Consequence to this *Church*,
 ‘ if not speedily remedy’d.

‘ It would be consider’d in the *First* Place,
 ‘ That several of such as preach in these
 ‘ Meeting-Houses are known to be, not on-
 ‘ ly unsound in their Judgments, but also
 ‘ scandalous and immoral in their Lives
 ‘ and Practices; and however they may
 ‘ pretend to be qualify’d according to Law,
 ‘ yet

' yet, if they were not Secret, and Heart-
 ' Enemies to Her Majesty and the present
 ' Government, they would never yield
 ' themselves Tools to a *Jacobite* Party, for
 ' carrying on of their wicked and pernicious
 ' Designs.

' *Secondly*, They cannot pretend it to be
 ' Matter of Conscience, in setting up of the
 ' *English* Service here, for abstracting from
 ' *Presbyterians*, even the Body and Bulk of
 ' the Episcopal Perswasion in *Scotland* have
 ' never been fond of the *English* Way of
 ' Worship; but, upon many Occasions, have
 ' testify'd their Dislike of the same, and none
 ' of them scruple to joyn in Communion
 ' with this *Church*, but such as are either
 ' openly Profane, and will not subject to
 ' *Church-Discipline*, or avow'd *Jacobites*.
 ' And therefore,

' *Thirdly*, We conceive, That by these il-
 ' legal and unwarrantable Encroachments,
 ' Intrusions, and Innovations, they design
 ' no less than the Ruin of both *Church* and
 ' *State*; for as the setting up of the *English*
 ' Service here did in former Times breed
 ' much Trouble and Confusion in this
 ' *Church* and *Nations*, so at present it does
 ' raise and foment Jealousies and Heart-burn-
 ' ings in the Minds of People, otherwise
 ' zealously affected to Her Majesty's Person
 ' and Government, and exceedingly widens
 ' the Breach betwixt us and the separating
 ' Parties

‘ Parties on both Hands: And the Instiga-
 ‘ tors to, and Abettors of these Practices are
 ‘ in big Hopes, and not without good and
 ‘ evident Grounds, that this will prove an
 ‘ effectual Means of Alienating the Hearts
 ‘ and Affections of many of our QUEEN’s
 ‘ Best and most Loyal Subjects, from Her
 ‘ Majesty’s Person and the present Esta-
 ‘ blishment; and that by that Means they
 ‘ shall effectually wound and weaken the
 ‘ Church on both Sides, and also ruin the
 ‘ Civil Government.

‘ We must also humbly represent, That
 ‘ albeit we have many good and laudable
 ‘ Laws and Acts of Parliament against Po-
 ‘ pery and Papists, their Trafficking and
 ‘ Practising in Scotland, particularly against
 ‘ their Teaching of any Science, Art and
 ‘ Exercise within the same, and against all
 ‘ Irreligion and Blasphemies; yet Papists
 ‘ do openly and avowedly teach and practice,
 ‘ even within the City of *Edinburgh* and
 ‘ Suburbs. And now, also a profane and
 ‘ deluded Crew of *Enthusiasts* are set up in
 ‘ this Place, who, under Pretence to the
 ‘ Spirit of Prophecy, do utter most horrid
 ‘ Blasphemies against the ever Glorious Tri-
 ‘ nity, such as ought not to be suffer’d in
 ‘ any *Christian Church* or *Nation*, seeing this
 ‘ strikes at the very Root and Vitals of all
 ‘ Religion, and is set on Foot of *Satan* to
 ‘ confound (if possible) all solid Thoughts
 ‘ of a Deity amongst us.

‘ We

' We have, for Brevity's Sake, represented
 ' but a few of the many Inconveniences that
 ' will certainly follow the Sufferings of
 ' such Practices, and do judge it our Duty,
 ' in all Humility, to lay them before the
 ' Reverend Commission, seeing you are set
 ' by the *Church of Scotland* upon the Watch-
 ' Tower, to advert, that the Interest of *Je-*
 ' *sus Christ*, and the present Establishment
 ' of this Church, do not suffer, or sustain
 ' any Prejudice which you can prevent,
 ' particularly to take special Care to keep
 ' and maintain Unity in the *Church* upon
 ' all Emergents; and to see to the due
 ' Execution of the Acts of Assemblies, which
 ' are very plain and express against such In-
 ' novations in the Worship of God, particu-
 ' larly the Act 15 *Gen. Assembly, 1707.*
 ' And therefore humbly and earnestly beg
 ' and entreat, That, as you tender the *Glory*
 ' of God, the *Peace* and *Unity* of this *Church*,
 ' and the *Quiet* and *Safety* of Her Majesty's
 ' *Government*, you would use your utmost
 ' Endeavours for Suppressing and Crushing
 ' such intolerable and pernicious Practices
 ' and Designs in the Bud——

And your Supplicants shall ever pray, &c.

The like Address they presented to the Magistrates at the same Time, and is as follows :

Unto

*Unto the Right Honourable the Lord
Provost and Bailies of the City of
Edinburgh.*

*The Humble Representation of the Neigh-
bours and Inhabitants of the said City,
in Prosecution of the former Addresses
made by them and others, to the Reve-
rend Commissioner of the late General
Assembly.*

Honourable and Worthby Patriots,

‘ **W** Hereas our Holy Protestant Re-
‘ form’d Religion and Preservation
‘ thereof, in the Purity of *Doctrine, Worship,*
‘ *Discipline,* and *Church-Government,* from
‘ Innovations intruded without Warrant
‘ and Authority of the Holy Scriptures,
‘ the only Rule of our Faith and Life, and
‘ of Worshipping God through our *Lord*
‘ *Jesus Christ,* should be to all, and is, we
‘ hope, to many of us, dearer than our
‘ Lives.

‘ And whereas the same was fully Esta-
‘ blish’d by the Law of *Scotland,* after our
‘ Blessed Reformation from *Popery,* and by
‘ the late Happy Revolution restor’d to Us:
‘ And whereas notwithstanding of our Acts
‘ of Parliament, and Act of our late Gene-
‘ ral

' ral Assembly, where our Gracious Queen
 ' *Anne* is represented by Her Commissioner,
 ' and Acts of Inferiour Church Judicatories:
 ' And albeit your Honours have zealously
 ' appear'd against *Popery*, *Innovations* and
 ' *Delusions*, yet *Papists* do still continue
 ' boldly to disseminate their Principles, and
 ' in the Teeth of one expresse Act of Parlia-
 ' ment to keep publick Schools, and others
 ' set up Meeting-Houses, and therein to in-
 ' troduce Innovations, according to the
 ' Church of *England's* Liturgy; so much
 ' against the plain reitterated Laws of *Scot-*
 ' *land*, ratifying the *Doctrine*, *Worship*, *Dis-*
 ' *cipline* and *Government* of this *Church*, by
 ' which we have all Security, Law can give
 ' us, against all such Innovations, and against
 ' all *Entbusiastick Principles*; and those that
 ' disseminate the same, so much to the
 ' Prejudice of the Purity of our *Holy Re-*
 ' *ligion*.

May it therefore please your Lordship and
 Honours, in Consideration of the Pre-
 mises, and for the Glory of God, and
 Security of the Peace, to put our good
 Laws in Execution, and to take such
 Prudent and Effectual Methods, as may
 deliver this City and Places of your
 Jurisdiction from the aforesaid Practi-
 ces of *Papists* and all *Innovators*, and
Entbusiasts, which corrupt our *Holy*
Religion,

Religion, and in such Manner as may prevent the like in Time coming.

And your Petitioners shall ever pray.

These Addresses having been Presented, at the same Time signifie the Earnestness of the People in the Case.

The Magistrates took no Steps at this Time, waiting to let the Commission begin in their usual Method: The Commission referr'd the Cause to the *Presbytry of Edinburgh*, and they proceeded as you have heard.

The Commission of the Assembly, indeed, made an Act, Entituled, *Act of the Commission of the General Assembly against Innovation in the Worship of God*. August 5. 1709. This Act, too long to be incerted here, because I have other Things to Record, which cannot be omitted, was, in short, a Reciting the several Acts of Parliament, by which the Privileges of the *Church of Scotland* were Secur'd to them; and by which the Purity and Uniformity of the *Church* were Legally Confirm'd. And Concludes, with Directing the several *Presbyteries* to put those Laws in Execution against Innovation of Worship, and to apply to the Civil Magistrate therefore, as the Law directs.

The *Presbytry of Edinburgh*, in pursuance of this, took the Case in hand, as you have heard; and having fully heard the Case, pronounc'd

pronounc'd Sentence against him to this purpose, *viz.* *That the said James Greenshields being not legally Ordain'd a Minister, was not empower'd to execute the Office of a Minister within the Bounds of this Presbytry.* The fuller Copy follows in the ensuing Pages hereof.

This Sentence they sent, in Writing, to Mr. *Greenshields*, and another Copy thereof to the Magistrates of *Edinburgh*, requiring, or rather requesting the said Magistrates to cite the said Mr. *Greenshields* before them, and order the said Sentence to be enforce'd by their Authority, according to an act of Parliament, which requires the Civil Magistrate to put in Execution the Sentences of the *Church*.

It is observable, That the Proceedings of the Magistrates with this Man, and his Behaviour to them, at his several appearances, is wholly omitted by the Author of *The Case of Mr. Greenshields*. Indeed, being a Thing too Scandalous to be Vindicated, it was most prudently done to omit it. The Case was, in short, thus: The Magistrates citing him before them, acquainted him with the Sentence, and that they were oblig'd, by Law, to cause the same to be executed; and therefore desired, That he would, *Obtemper*, that is, give Obedience, or submit to the same, as the Law directed. This he peremptorily refus'd, and declar'd, *That he would continue to exercise*

ercise the Office of a Minister, and read the English Liturgy in Edinburgh, notwithstanding any such Sentences, or any Order they should make to the Contrary.

The Magistrates however proceeding with all Mildness and Temper possible, bid him *Consider of it*, and gave him Time for it till the next Week.

But the next *Sabbath* he not only Opened his New Meeting-House, but walked up to the Cross, where he was sure to meet the Magistrates at their coming out of the Church, and standing just in their view, shewed them all the Disrespect possible, even to an open Mocking and Reviling them.

In the mean time, the said Magistrates had sent an Impartial Account of all their Proceedings to the Secretary of State, Representing, effectually, the Behaviour of the Man, the Rights of the Church, and the express Laws against these Things, and had receiv'd Letters from his Grace the Duke of *Queensberry* and the Earl of *Sund----*, by Her Majesties special Command, approving of their Proceedings, and assuring them, That Her Majesty was resolved to give no Encouragement to those Innovations; but was resolved to Protect the Church of *Scotland* in all their just Privileges; and Encouraging the Magistrates to put the Laws in Execution, which Letters remains still, under the Hands of the said several Secretaries of State,
in

in Possession of the Magistrates aforesaid, the Originals whereof I have seen.

Hereupon the Magistrates, as well enforc'd for the Justification of their own Authority, as by the Directions of the Laws, Citing the said *Greenshields* before them again, and he Contemning their Authority, as before, they committed him to the *Tolbooth*, there to remain till he should give Security to submit to the Sentence of the *Presbytery* aforesaid. The Copy of the Magistrates *Commitment*, Including also the Sentence of the *Presbytery*, is as follows :

Edinburgh, the *Fifteenth Day* of September,
One Thousand Seven Hundred and Nine
Years.

THE which Day, the Right Honourable Sir *Patrick Johnsson*, Lord Provost of the City of *Edinburgh*, *George Lawson*, *George Lind*, *Robert Craig* and *Henry Hawthorn*, Bailies and Justices of Her Majesty's Peace, within the City of *Edinburgh*, Liberties and Privileges thereof, sitting in Judgment, anent an Act and Remit from the Reverend *Presbytery* in *Edinburgh*, to the Magistrates and Justices, shewing, that where;

At *Edinburgh*, the 7th Day of Sept. One thousand seven hundred and nine Years; the *Presbytery* of *Edinburgh* having consider'd a Reference from the Session of the College Kirk, concerning Mr. *James Greenshields*; did, thereupon, cite the said Mr. *Greenshields* before them, and he compearing, produced an Act of Ordination by the Exauctored Bishop

of Ross; dated *August*, One thousand six hundred and ninety four Years; bearing, that he was ordain'd a *Presbyter* according to the Rites and Usages of the Church of Scotland; together with Testimonials from *Ireland*; was interrogate by what Authority he did preach, and exercise any Part of the Ministry within the Bounds of this *Presbytery*, without Call or Warrant from this *Presbytery* conform to Law; he did decline the Authority of this *Presbytery* and Church, and subscrib'd the same, *coram*. The Tenour whereof follows; *Whereas, being ordain'd a Minister of the Church of England, and has been of that Communion ever since, and now am, and having Occasion to come and to reside in my own Country; where, for my Benefit, and the Benefit of those who were in the same Circumstances with myself, I do, in a private House, keep Divine Worship, according to the Liturgy of the Church of England, and since by the Union of the two Kingdoms, I do believe that the Episcopal Church of Scotland is now incorporate with the Church of England, and that though Presbytery is the legal Establishment of North-Britain, yet I find there is no Law against those of the Communion of the Church of England, to exercise their Worship in a private Manner, without intruding into any Church or Glebe of any Minister establish'd by Law; and, therefore, I do not think myself subject, or liable to any Censure of any Ecclesiastical Judicatory in North-Britain, but only in so far as to give an Account that I am lawfully ordain'd Minister, and free of any Scandal that may incapacitate me for such an Undertaking. And whereupon I take Instruments. Sic subbitur James Greenshields.* Which being read, he was remov'd, and being call'd in again, and the Moderator having told him that he had declin'd the Authority of this Church. To which he reply'd, That this Church had no Jurisdiction over

over him, as to Spiritual Concerns, and adher'd to his former Declinature. All which, the *Presbytery* considering, do find, That the said Mr. *Greenshields* has, in high Contempt of this Church Establishment by Law, declin'd their Authority; that he has exercis'd the Ministry within the Bounds of this *Presbytery*, without their Allowance, which is an unwarrantable Intrusion; and introduc'd a Form of Worship contrary to the Purity and Uniformity of the Worship of this Church establish'd by Law. Wherefore, the *Presbytery* did, and hereby do, unanimously, prohibit and discharge the said Mr. *Greenshields* to exercise any Part of the Office of the Holy Ministry within their Bounds, and recommends to the Magistrates of *Edinburgh*, and other Judges competent, to render this Sentence effectual, declaring always, that the *Presbytery* reserves to themselves the farther Consideration of the whole Affair. Extracted by me,

Sic subscribitur,

Nicol Spence, Clerk.

As the Act duly sign'd by *Nicol Spence*, Clerk to the said *Presbytery*, bears, and the same being on the eighth Day of *September* Instant, read in Presence of, and consider'd by the said Magistrates as Justices; they granted Warrant to *Henry Rankin*, the Dean of *Guild*, Officer, for citing the said Mr. *James Greenshields* to compear before them, in the new Council-Chamber of *Edinburgh*, on the ninth Instant, by Three a Clock in the Afternoon; and accordingly, the said Mr. *James Greenshields* being lawfully warn'd by the said Officer, and Personally apprehended, and compearing Personally before them, they continued the said Affair till the next Day, being the tenth Instant; and desiring he might then attend in the new Council-Chamber, by Ten

of the Clock in the Forenoon; and accordingly, the said Magistrates having then met, they, upon the said Mr. *James Greenshields* his Compareance, caus'd read to him the said Act and Remit of the said *Presbytery*; and after reading thereof, enquir'd at him, if he would obtemper the samin; to which he answer'd, That he could not comply with, or would he obtemper the said Sentence pronounc'd by the said *Presbytery*. Wherefore, the Magistrates as Justices foresaid, in persuance of the foresaid Sentence of the said Reverend *Presbytery*, and Remit to them, did prohibit and discharge, and hereby prohibit and discharge the said Mr. *Greenshields* to preach or exercise any Part of his Ministerial Function, within the City of *Edinburgh*, Liberties and Privileges of the samin; with Certification to him, if he should contravene the said Sentence, by doing the contrary thereof, they would, upon his first Transgression, Imprison his Person, within the *Tolbooth* of *Edinburgh*, and would otherwise proceed against him conform to Law; and there being Application made by the Neighbourhood, to the Magistrates, and Information given in, that, notwithstanding of the *Presbytery's* Sentence, and their Certification, the said Mr. *James Greenshields* had continued in excercising the Ministerial Function within the City of *Edinburgh*, in his *Meeting-House*; whereupon, the said Justices did, this Day, again call for him before them; and did interrogate him, if, or not, he us'd any Part of his Ministerial Function since his last Sentence; judicially acknowledg'd he preach'd and perform'd Divine Service, publickly, upon *Sabbath* last, being the eleventh Instant; whereupon, they, in Persuance of the foresaid Sentence of the Reverend *Presbytery*, and Certification given him, on the tenth Instant, ordain'd,

ordain'd him to go to the Prison, and *Tolbooth* of this City, therein to remain, ay and while he found Caution that he should desist from the Exercise of his Ministry, within this City, Liberties and Privileges, in all time coming, or else, that he should remove himself therefrom.

Extracted, ADAM WATT.

It would be too long to descant here upon the loud Clamour rais'd over *England*, of the Persecution of this Reverend Man, as they call'd him, tho' the Man himself, more eminent for Singing Bawdy Songs, and for other Immoralities, than any Reverend Behaviour as a *Minister of the Gospel*, was a Person they ought to have been asham'd of; but it serv'd the Design so well, that the Man, being acted by a private Party in *England*, and supported from thence by large Supplies, lay long in the *Tolbooth*, till their Affairs ripen'd, in *England*, to a Head, and till a Party came in that might bring all their Designs to pass.

When these Things, I say, began to ripen, they proceeded, and the first Thing he did, was to appeal from the Sentence of the Magistrates of *Edinburgh* to the Lords of the Session in *Scotland*, which was done by a *Bill of Suspension*, as it is call'd there; and because, in this *Bill of Suspension*, and the *Magistrates Answer*, the whole Case is stated, and the Pretensions on both Sides lay'd

down, as they stand in the Eye of the Laws in *Scotland*; the said *Bill* and *Answers* being drawn by the ablest Lawyers of *Scotland*, I could not give the Reader a better State of the Case, or more Authentick, than by referring him to an Impartial View of them both, and so let him judge for himself: The Appeal is as follows:

Bill of Suspension for Mr. James Greenshields,

MY Lords of Council and Session, unto your Lordships, humbly means and shews, your Servitor Mr. *James Greenshields*, late Minister at the Church of *Tynan*, in *Ireland*; that where I being cited before the *Presbytery* of *Edinburgh*, for alledged Exercising the Holy Ministry, without the Allowance of any Church Judicatory, and bringing in Rites and Ceremonies, contrary to the Purity and Uniformity of the Establish'd Church of *Scotland*, the said *Presbytery* did prohibit me to exercise any part of the Holy Ministry within their Bounds; and did, thereafter, apply to the Magistrates of *Edinburgh*, to render their Sentence effectual: Who upon the Tenth Day of *September* last by past, did interpose their Authority to the Sentence of the *Presbytery*, and did expressly prohibit me to exercise any Part of the Holy Ministry within the Bounds and Liberties of the good Town of *Edinburgh* with Certification, that if I transgressed in any part of the Premises, I should be Imprisoned in the *Tolbooth* of *Edinburgh*, and suffer such other Punishments as they should think fit to inflict upon me: And, for alledged contravening of their said Sentence, by preaching
and

and performing Divine Service, publickly, upon the Sabbath-Day thereafter, having caused actually incarcerate me within their *Talboath*, therein to remain ay, and while I find caution to desist from the Exercise of my Ministry, within the City of *Edinburgh* and Suburbs thereof, in time coming: Most wrongously and unjustly considering it is of Verity, that I being legally Ordain'd a Minister of the Gospel, did for some time, serve the Cure at the said Church of *Tynan*, in *Ireland*, under one of the Prebendaries of *Armagh*, and was duly qualified, both to the late King *William*, and to Her present Majesty; and am known to be well Affected to the present Government, as will appear from ample Testificates of my Qualifications and good Behaviour, from the Arch-Bishop of *Armagh*, and the Clergy of that Diocese: And having occasion to come over here, about my necessary Affairs, before I was ready to return the said Prebendary, under whom I had the Cure at the Church of *Tynan*, happen'd to die, and I thereby render'd destitute of a Charge; and being, at the same time, earnestly invited, and desired by several Persons here, who are of the Communion of the Church of *England*, their Native Country, and who did not join with the present Establish'd Church here; (so that no Establish'd Minister's Charge was encroach'd upon:) And having Council and Advice, that there was no Law to the Contrary, was so prevail'd upon to preach, and read Prayers to these Persons, after the Form of the Church of *England*. And I engaged in this the more readily, when I consider'd, that the *Presbyterian* Dissenting Ministers in *Ireland*, (where they have no Toleration from the Government, as in *England*) and who are for

the most part, *Scots-men*, if they be qualified according to Law, and preach, and live as becomes, are never disturbed by the regular Clergy; but they enjoy the free Exercise of Religion, after their own Way, almost in every Parish: And I did expect that their Brethren in *Scotland* would not do to others, what they would not have others do to them. Having thus laid before your Lordships the Matter of Fact, and Circumstances thereof, it is evident, that the Procedure and Sentences both of the *Presbytery* and good Town of *Edinburgh*, have no Ground nor Foundation in Law, and so are most unwarrantable; for the Reasons following. *Primo*, I being legally ordained a Minister, and duly qualified as such, am under the Protection and Favour of the Government, by several Laws and Acts of Parliament; and particularly, by the Sixteenth Act of the Meeting of the States of *Scotland*, holden in *Anno* One thousand six hundred and ninety nine Years, whereby it is prohibited and discharged, that no Injury be offered by any Person whosoever, to any Minister of the Gospel, either of Church or Meeting-House, in the Possession and Exercise of the Ministry therein, they behaving themselves as becomes under the present Government. And therefore, the foresaid Sentence of Imprisonment and Execution thereof, is manifestly illegal and without Warrant; Especially considering, *Secundo*, That the only Reason assigned for the Sentence, is, that I did judicially acknowledge, that I preached and performed Divine Service, publickly, upon a Sabbath-Day, after I was discharged therefrom by the *Presbytery* of the Bounds, and in contempt also of the Magistrates Sentence, interposing their Authority to the *Presbytery's* aforesaid prohibition; with and under the

the Certification, not only of Imprisonment, but of such other Punishment as they should think fit to inflict ; which Reason can never be sustained to support the foresaid Sentence in Law, there being none that authorizes, or gives Warrant to any *Presbytery*, or other Church Judicature, to prohibit and discharge any Minister from Preaching, or having publick Prayers in his own Family, or other private House, which is all that I do; unless it could be qualified, that the Doctrine preached by me was Erroneous, or that my Prayers contained any thing not warranted from the Word of God, and Rule of our Faith, which, in the present Case, was not so much as alledged, or that any thing was said or spoke by me, in my said Religious Performance, shewing any Disloyalty to the present Established Government. And as no Church Judicature had any Authority from Law, to issue out such a Prohibition, much less are the Magistrates of the Good Town authoriz'd to give their Authority thereto, and that by pronouncing a Sentence of Imprisonment, and other Punishments against the Transgressors. For albeit Magistrates, Judges and other Officers of Justice, are by Law required to give all due Assistance, for making the Sentences and Censures of the Church and Judicatories thereof, to be obey'd, yet that can be only understood of Church Censures, with respect to the Corruption of Life or Doctrine, or of such Sentences within their Spheres, and Jurisdiction, which can never be extended to the present Case, or beyond Ministers and Preachers within the Churches Communion, whereof the Suspender is not. And that the Church's Jurisdiction is thus restricted over Ministers and Preachers, admitted and continued within their Communion, does evidently

appear from the 23d *Act*, of the Parliament holden in *Anno* 1693. Yea farther, so careful are our Laws of giving their Protection to all Ministers and Preachers of the Gospel that are qualified to the Civil Government, that albeit they do not subscribe the *Confession of Faith*, own and acknowledge the present Government of this Church, not to observe the same *Uniformity* of Worship, that the present Government does enjoin and practise, as is required by the foresaid 23d *Act*, which concerns only Ministers in Churches, and those of the Churches Communion, as said is; yet the same is dispensed with, and the Law in so far derogate from, by posterior Laws, and particularly by the 27th *Act* of Parliament holden in *Anno* 1694. whereby 'tis provided and declared, That all Ministers who shall duly qualify themselves, by Taking the Oath of *Allegiance*, and subscribing the *Assurance*, without Imposing upon them the other Qualifications mention'd in the said 23d *Act* of the Parliament, 1693, with respect to the Church Government, and Form of Worship, shall have the Government's Protection, as to their Kirks, Benefices and Stipends. Which *Act*, in Favours of the said Ministers, is ratified by the *Act* 2d, of the Parliament 1700. *Act* 3d Parliament 1702, and *Act* 2d Parliament 1703. And if the Law does thus dispense with the want of *Uniformity* of Worship in Favours of Ministers in the Possession of Churches, and protects them in their Rights and Benefices, notwithstanding of the foresaid 23d *Act* in *Anno* 1693, which may be said to comprehend them; then much less can the said *Act*, with respect to what it requires, as to the *Uniformity* of Worship, and Owning of the *Presbyterian* Government, be extended to Preachers that

that are qualified to the Government, who Preach and Pray only in private Houses, tho' in a different Form and Manner from that of the *Presbyterian* Church, since the Form and Manner of Worship observ'd by the Suspenders is not Reprobat, or discharged by any Law. And my Case can never be said to be comprehended by the foresaid 23d *Act*, I neither being received in the Communion of this Church, nor in the Enjoyment of any Benefice. *Tertio*, As it thus appears, that the above Procedure against me, has no Foundation or Warrant from the Acts of Parliament; so it cannot possibly be warranted from any pretended *Act* of the *Commission* of the *General Assembly*, who has no Legal Power to Form or Make any *Acts*, with respect to those without their Communion, who have their freedom to choise what Form or Manner of Divine Worship they think most agreeable, providing the same be not discharged by the Civil Authority. *Quarto*, The restraining of Mens Liberties without a legal Ground, is such a horrid Injustice to Nature, (Liberty and Freedom being the most valuable Interests of Mankind) that the Laws of all Nations and human Societies do anxiously provide for the Security of Liberty, by inflicting of severe Punishments upon the Unjust Restrainers thereof. And herein our own Laws are not defective, as appears from the 6th *Act* of the Parliament 1701, by which most excellent Law, full Provision is made, for securing of the Liberties of the Subject, and against their *Wrongous Imprisonment*. And since my Imprisonment (which has continu'd for near two Months, to the great Prejudice of my Health, as well as of the Means of Subsistence of my self, and numerous Family) proceeds upon a Sentence, without the least Warrant,

or

or any Shadow of Law, as appears from the Premises; Therefore the foresaids Prohibitions and Sentences against me, ought to be *Simpliciter* Suspended by your Lordships, and I Ordain'd to be set at Liberty, and that without finding of Caution, as the Warrant for my Imprisonment requires. **HEREFORE**, I beseech your Lordships, for your Warrant and Deliverance, for Letters of Suspension and Liberation, in the Premises, in Communi Forma; According to Justice and your Lordships Answer.

The Lords of the Session Examining this *Appeal*, and, upon a full Hearing of both Parties, gave it against Mr. *Greenfields*, in Favour of the Magistrates.

Mr. *Greenfields* having no farther Instructions from his Party, at that Time, sat still so long, that their Resolution of Appealing to the House of Lords in the *British* Parliament, could not be put in Practice, the Time, Ten Days, which the Laws of *Scotland* requires for such *Appeals*, being elapsed. But to retrieve this, he presents a second *Appeal*, or *Bill of Suspension*, to the same Purpose as the Former, but much longer, and too tedious to be repeated here, and the Lords of the Session rejecting it, as they did before, he Appeal'd in Form to the *British* Parliament.

In the mean Time, that the Reader may be fully inform'd of the State of the Case on both Sides, as I have, above, given you the Form of the said *Bill of Suspension*, or
Appeal,

Appeal, wherein the said *Greenshields* lays down his *Case*, so I give you here the Answer of the Magistrates, which they gave in for their own Vindication, and which was adjudg'd by the Lords of the Sessions to be right, after which, on a full Hearing, the Lords, a Second Time as above, giving it against *Greenshields*, I give you the Form of his *Appeal*, and his Letter to his Friends in *England*, Reciting his *Case* his own Way; and this, in Order to do him Justice in the Whole, letting the Validity of all these be referr'd to the Impartial Reader.

November 4. 1709.

ANSWERS for the Magistrates of the Good Town of *Edinburgh*, to the Bill of Suspension, given in the Name of Mr. James *Greenshields*, pretended late Minister of the Church of *Tynan* in *Ireland*.

THE Complainer, Mr. *James Greenshields*, without a Legal Vocation to be a lawful Minister of any Church or Communion, having presumptuously taken upon him to preach and exercise all the Parts of the Ministerial Function in *Scotland*, and that at *Edinburgh*; and with an uncommon Ostentation to practise what he had begun openly.

The Réverend *Presbytery* of *Edinburgh* did, very suitable to their Duty, call him before them; And he did so far acknowledge their just Authority as to Compear, and did produce a pretended Act of Ordination, bearing Date in *August*, 1694, by the late Bishop of *Ross*, long after Prelacy, and all Superiority

Superiority in Offices in this Kingdom above *Presbyters*, had been abolish'd by King and Parliament, in the 2d Act of Parliament held in the Year 1689.

Tho' this pretended Ordination so manifestly Defective; The said Mr. *Greenfields* pretended to justifie, and carry'd himself so haughtily, as to decline the Authority of the Church, which he had the Minute before acknowledg'd, and then, with an Ignorance equal to his Presumption, pretended to be a *Presbyter* of the Church of *England*, tho' his Ordination was by an *Exauctorate* or no Bishop of *Scotland*; and to support this, alledg'd an imaginary Incorporation of the Churches of *Scotland* and *England*, and to compleat his Inconsistencies and Follies, did endeavour to justifie this Incorporation by the Act of Union, tho' it has most carefully preserv'd the Establish'd *Presbyterian* Church-Government in *Scotland*, and distinguish'd the Case of the Church here, from that in *England*.

It cannot seem strange, that the Reverend *Presbytery* did discharge the Complainer in these Circumstances to preach, seeing he had not so much as the Pretence of Authority, and was in Effect a *Layman*, assuming to himself Orders in a Place where there is a Church establish'd by Law, with Power of Discipline; And seeing there appear'd so much Presumption, both in the Manner and in the Matter of his Defence; The *Presbytery* did most justly require the Civil Magistrate, to take care that such should not be admitted to preach to the People.

The Magistrates of *Edinburgh*, who were at the same time call'd upon by great Numbers of People, by a Petition, craving, That a Restraint might be put to such Abuses, did nevertheless proceed with the outmost Moderation and Tendernefs, and only

ly call'd the Complainer before them, admonishing him to forbear Preaching, and obey the Sentence of the *Presbytery*; Which he having transgress'd, and thereby contemn'd both *Ecclesiastical* and *Civil Authority*; The Magistrates did Imprison him, untill he should find Caution for his good Behaviour and Obedience.

But Mr. *James Greenshields* the Complainer, has rather chosen to present this Bill of Suspension, hoping without doubt, if he may prevail, a Door may be open'd to greater Disorders, and has for that End stuff'd his *Bill* with many Things Foreign to the Purpose.

The Reasons of *Suspension* are usher'd in with a Narrative of the Complainer's being Legally Ordain'd a *Minister of the Gospel*, and his having sometime serv'd the Cure at the Church of *Tynan* in *Ireland*, under a Prebend of *Armagh*, by which one should be attempted to believe he had been Ordain'd in *Ireland*, and afterwards had preach'd there, till he had come over to *Scotland* lately, and after his inconsistent Way, he is a *Minister* of the Church of *Scotland*, *England*, and *Ireland*; but by Authority of no legal Mission in these, or any Church whatever, and what Incorporation he will find to joyn all these, is hardly to be foreseen: The Truth is, That he is not legally Ordain'd a *Minister* any where; but being a *Curate* under a *Prebendary* in *Ireland*, is come, by his private Authority, to create Disturbances here.

The Complainer pretends to give good Evidence of his Affection and Qualifications to the Government; but the Ordination from an *Ex-auctoritate Bishop*, who never own'd its Authority, nor the Supremacy of King *William*, nor of Her Majesty; as by their own Principles they ought; and

and the Complainer's Coming over to disturb the Establishment of the *Church* and *People*, so well affected to *Civil Government*, and the *Protestant Succession*: The warm Support the Complainer meets with here, from People who have given no good Evidence of *Affection* to it, I say, this Conduct does very ill agree with the pretended *Loyalty* the Complainer boasts of.

It were unnecessary to give the Lord Ordinary the Trouble, to examine the Account the Complainer gives of his being invited to preach, and use the *Service* of the *Church* of *England* here, of which he will be hardly able to give any good Evidence, neither will it be to the present Purpose to give particular Answers to several other affected Reasons, no Ways belonging to the Case, and therefore the Good Town shall content themselves to answer only such Reasons, which may seem to concern the Subject of the Complaint.

The Complainer's first Reason is, That, being Ordain'd a lawful *Minister*, he has the Benefit of the 16th Act of the Meeting of the Estates of *Scotland*, whereby it is *prohibited and discharg'd*, that any Injury be offer'd by any Person whatsoever, to any *Ministers* of the Gospel, either in their Churches or Meeting-Houses.

But the Complaner forgets the following Words, (*Who are presently in the Possession and Exercise of their Ministry therein, and behave as becomes under the present Government*) and it's certain, the Complainer neither does, nor pretends to subsume in the Terms of the Act, nor of any of the Acts mention'd in his *Bill*; and it were a Matter of very bad Consequence, if the *Ministers* of the *Church*, and the *Magistrates*, in this Part of Her Majesty's Kingdom, should admit a Person to preach

preach upon a pretended Ordination, by an Authority abolish'd by the *Civil Power*, and contrary to the *Ecclesiastick Establishment*; these, whom the Act of the *Convention* did protect, were *Ministers*, who, at least, were own'd as such by one Side or other; but this Complainer is in a quite different Case, being Ordain'd in Manner foreaid; nor does this Question only concern this Part of the Island, for there were *Excommunicated Bishops* in *England*, at the Time of the *Revolution*, as well as in *Scotland*, but never any such were allow'd to Ordain, which would be to allow a perpetual Schism.

2. The Complainer does much insist upon the Church's Want of Power over others, than these of their own Communion, but at the same time acknowledges, the Church has the Power of Discipline, as to Immoralities and Errors, and that the Civil Magistrate ought to put their Sentence in Execution: Now, by the Complainer's own Way of Reasoning, the Church had good Reason to enquire, Whether he was a Minister or no? And if he was not, to restrain him, as not having a Mission from any Authority acknowledg'd by any Church, and consequently the *Magistrates* were in their Duty to put the Sentence in Execution, and might have punish'd the Complainer personally; but yet they have contented themselves only to Imprison him, till he finds Caution for Obedience.

The good Town does reckon themselves in this Case concern'd to answer, what the Petitioner endeavours to set forth so earnestly, That he suffers for using the Ceremonies of the Church of *England*, tho' it is very plain, that these Ceremonies had not, at the Time of the *Revolution*, the Authority of any *Ecclesiastick* Judicature, nor Civil in *Scotland*, nor can ever have it now. Nor is it less certain, that by the Complainer's own Principles, no Forms

can be introduc'd into any *Episcopal Church*, without Concourse of both : But the Complainer being no *Presbyter* of any Sort and in Effect a *Lay-Man*, was justly call'd by the *Presbytery*, and forbid to preach which is enough to support the *Presbytery's* Sentence, as that Sentence is sufficient Ground for the Magistrates to have proceeded, as they have done.

And where the Complainer alledges, That the Magistrates had no Warrant, by any special Law, to Imprison in the Case foresaid.

It is answer'd, That all the Parts of the Magistrates Authority need not special Acts, *Concessa Jurisdictione ex omnia concessa videntur, sine quibus exerceri non potest*; The Magistrates have Power to prevent Disorders, and are in Law bound to see the lawful Sentences of the Church put to Execution against the Scandalous, Erroneous and Depos'd Clergy-men, and much more against such who pretend a Mission in Defiance to the publick Law, and having that Power, they have thereby the Power of Imprisonment, without which, the other could not take Effect.

But to give the Lords a plain Account of this Matter, by the Act of Parliament 1693, it is expressly Statute, *That no Person be continued or allow'd to be a Preacher within this Church, unless he comply with the Conditions there set down*; And more particularly, *That no Preacher be allow'd or continued within the same, unless he actually observe the Uniformity of Worship observ'd in this Church*; And by the 6th Act of Parliament, 1707, the foresaid Act is Ratify'd; and it is expressly provided, *That the Form and Purity of Worship presently in Use within this Church, shall remain and continue unalterable*; And this is yet more solemnly secur'd by the Treaty of Union. Now, if after all this, a Man from
Ireland,

Ireland, pretending to be a lawful Minister, and who yet can give no Account of a good Ordination, shall come and preach here, and set up and use Foreign Rites and Ceremonies, contrary to the Purity and Uniformity of Worship establish'd in this Church; can there be any thing more proper for the Church, than to take Notice, and Restrain such a vagrant pestilent Practiser, specially when he acknowledges, if he were preaching Error, he might be restrain'd by virtue of the foresaid Acts? But so it is, that these Acts are equally for the Purity and Uniformity of Worship against all Innovations, as they are for the Truth of the Confession of Faith against Error, and consequently it did belong to the Church and *Presbytery*, to take Notice of this Complainer, having no lawful Character, and practising so disorderly contrary to Law; and the least they could do, was to forbid and discharge him, which he contemning, the Church is so warranted by the same Law, to apply to the Civil Magistrates, to make their Sentences Effectual, and the Civil Magistrate could not in Law take any other Method to that Effect, than what they have done: And the Imprisonment that hath hereon ensued, is more warrantable, no ways within the Compass of the Act against wrongous Imprisonment, since it expressly excepts all Imprisonments by Virtue of Sentences; And therefore, since the Complainer has been so Disorderly and Turbulent, and that both the Ecclesiastick and Civil Judicatory have proceeded against him most legally and regularly, and that in Effect he may relieve himself when he will, if he can but bow to a just Compliance, in all Reason and good Sense, his Bill ought to be refus'd.

This Answer of the Magistrates produc'd a full Hearing before the Lords, who, after a long Debate, a second Time confirm'd the Sentence of the Magistrates by a great Majority; whereupon Mr. *Greenshields* immediately lodg'd his Appeal to the *British* Parliament, which is as follows:

At Edinburgh, within the Parliament House there, betwixt the Hours of Nine and Ten, before Noon, Twenty Ninth of December, One thousand Seven hundred and nine, and of Her Majesty's Reign the eighth Year.

IN Presence of us Notaries Publick, and Witnesses Subscribing, compear'd *William Allan*, Writer in *Edinburgh*, and Procurator before the Commissars thereof, as Attorney for Mr. *James Greenshields*, Minister of the Gospel, and late Curate at *Tynan*, in the Diocese of *Armagh*, and Kingdom of *Ireland*; and produce before, and in the Presence of the Lords of Council and Session, then sitting in Judgment and Appeal containing therein a Procuratory, containing a Power and Commission to the said *William Allan*, (because of the said Mr. *Greenshields*'s present Imprisonment) empowering him to present the said Appeal, whereof the Tenour follows. I *Master James Greenshields*, Minister of the Gospel, and late Curate of *Tynan* in the Diocese of *Armagh*, and Kingdom of *Ireland*; *Whereas* I am incarcerate in the *Tolbooth* of *Edinburgh*, by vertue of a Warrant issued against me by the Magistrates of *Edinburgh*, for Disobedience to their pretended Sentence, interposing their Authority to

a Decree made by the Presbytery of *Edinburgh* against me for performing of Divine Service after the manner of the Church of *England*, in a private Way, to those at *Edinburgh* of the Communion of that Church: Albeit, according to my Council and Advice, there is no Law or Statute in *Scotland* to the Contrary; and I having made Application, by way of Two Suspensions to the Lords of Council and Session, against my said Imprisonment, as being illegal and unwarrantable, and judging myself lesed by the Interloquitors and Sentences of the said Lords refusing my saids Bills; do, therefore, hereby protest for Remead of Law against the same; and appeal from them to Her Majesty and the House of Lords for Justice and Redress. And because of my being incapacitate, by reason of my said Imprisonment, to offer and present this my Appeal, I do, therefore, impower, and grant Warrant to *William Allan*, Writer in *Edinburgh*, and Procurator before the Commissars thereof, to offer and present, and make the same for me and in my Name; and to do and exerce every thing thereanent, that I might do myself, if personally present; which I shall hold firm and stable. In Witness whereof I have written and subscriv'd these Presents, at the Tolbooth of *Edinburgh* the Twenty eighth day of *December*, one thousand seven hundred and nine Years, before these Witnesses, Mr. *Archibald Maire*, Minister of the Gospel, and Mr. *Robert Coult*, Son to the Deceas'd Sir *Robert Coult*, Advocate. Sic subscribitur, *James Greenshields*, *Archibald Maire*, Witness, *Robert Coult*, Witness. Conform whereunto, and to the Power thereby committed to the said *William Allan*, we did deliver the same to Mr. *John Mackenzie* of *Delerine*, one of the said Lords their principal Clerk, and in Presence

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aforesaid;

aforesaid; and by vertue of the above-written Power, in Name of the said Mr. *James Greenshields*, for the Reasons above express'd, protested for Remead of Law, and appeal'd from them to the Queen's Majesty, and House of Lords, for Justice and Redress; and thereupon, took Instruments in the Hands of the said Mr. *John Mackenzie*, and with Notaries Publick, before *John* and *David Rosses*, *John Davidson*, Junior, Servant to Mr. *Alexander Hay*, Advocate, and *Samuel Adamson*; all Writers in *Edinburgh*, Witnesses specially call'd and requir'd.

David Ross, Witness.
John Ross, Witness.
John Davison.
Ja. Adamson.

Ita esse ut pramittitur ego
David Allan Notarius Pub-
licus in Pramissis requisitus
testan' his meis signo, Et Sub
scriptione manualibus assero.

i. Allan 7. Not. o. Pub. 9.

Et ego Conotarius pramissa
requisitus assero;

T. Nicholson, N. P.

This Appeal being enter'd, and the Cause remov'd thereby to a Supreme Court, the following Letter was publish'd in the Name of Mr. *Greenshields*, which, being the Substance of his Pretensions, may sum up this Case.

Tolbooth of Edinburgh, December 5. 1709.

Reverend Sir,

THIS is to inform you, that since my last to you, I have applied to the Lords of our Session, for my Liberation, and gave in my Bill of Suspension, which I have here inclos'd; but they, instead of considering what, in my humble Opinion,

nion, regularly they ought to have consider'd, viz. The Cause of my Imprisonment, alledged in the *Presbytery's* Sentence, and that of the Magistrates in pursuance thereof, and their War-rand of Imprisonment thereupon, (all which I send you inclos'd) namely, *My bringing Rites and Ceremonies into this Place, contrary to the Purity and Uniformity of their Worship*: I say, instead of considering this, the Lords went off the State of the Question, and finding no Way to attack me, as I think, legally, fell upon a Notion afforded 'em by the Magistrates Answer to my Bill, and first broach'd by Sir *J—s St—t*, *That no Minister ordain'd by an Exauſtorated Bishop* (for such they call all the Right Reverend Bishops of this Church) *has true Ordination*. What their Lordships Reasonings were upon this Head, I design to publish at large; and shall now only mention two of 'em. The first was of the Lord *M—o*, who, after my Lord *Gr—ge* had asserted and fully prov'd the Validity of my Ordination, not only from the Principles and Practices of the Church of *England*, but also of their own Kirk, learnedly confuted all he had said, by this one positive Assertion, *That an exauſtorated Bishop has no more Power to ordain a Minister, than a Ballad-Cryer in the Streets*; and this was supported by another Lord's Opinion, *That he had no more Power to Ordain, than a depos'd Colonel or Captain of Horse has to give Commissions to Subalterns*; so that upon the whole, my Bill was refus'd, and I bereft of all Hopes that Way; so that I am forc'd to appeal to Her Majesty, and the House of Lords, from whose great Equity, Moderation, and Justice, I hope for that Redress, which I am so unhappy as not to be able to obtain in my Native Country. For, besides the Hardship of my Case in particular; I presume to

Q 4

say,

say, if my Persecutors are permitted to treat my *Episcopal Brethren*, as they do, *ad libitum*, and with Impunity, I am afraid they will attempt the Revival of their old *Solemn League and Covenant*. For, that many of them think that still binding on 'em, the following Instance, amongst many others, may evince. At *Sterling*, within these ten Weeks, they were placing a Minister; *Logan*, who was the Preacher, and examin'd the new Infrant, ask'd him, amongst many other Questions in the Church of *Sterling*, many Hundreds present, *Whether he believ'd that the National, and Solemn League, and Covenant, as it was binding upon their Fathers, who took it, so also it was equally binding upon them?* And he was answer'd, *he believ'd it was*; which is downright Treason, and contrary to many Acts of Parliament unrepeal'd. So that I think it may well be fear'd, that restless Tribe, who are of this Opinion, may once again attempt the Reformation of the Church of *England* to their Model, and endeavour to propagate the same Rebellious Notions in the Southern Parts of the Island. So that a *Toleration of Episcopal Ministers* here, seems to be highly necessary for the Preservation of the *Peace and Union* of both Kingdoms, the Service of Her Majesty, and Safety of the Church happily establish'd in *England*. As for the Ministers of the other Perswasions, whatever Pretences they may make to Loyalty, I can affirm, that there are two *Episcopal Ministers*, who have taken the Oaths to Her Majesty, for one of them, in Proportion to their different Numbers; that before I came to this City, I heard Nine of them preach and pray, and never heard one of them name the Queen in their Prayers. Nay, some of them had the Insolence and Hardiness, to tell their Congregations on the late Thanksgiving Day appointed

pointed by Her Majesty and Council, *That they were not come there out of any Obedience to the Queen's Proclamation; but to their Synod, which had enjoin'd that Thanksgiving for their good Harvest.*

I hope you will pardon the Tedioufness of my Letter, and believe me to be, Sir,

Your affectionate Brother,

And humble Servant,

JAMES GREENSHIELDS.

Thus far the Proceedings in *Scotland* were carry'd in this Affair; and the Appeal of *Greenshields* having removed it to the House of Peers; there his Party had so great an ascendancy, as to have his Cause carry'd; the Sentence of the Lords of Session and Magistrates of *Edinburgh* laid aside; but yet the House of Peers could not be brought, that Session, to meddle with the Sentence of the *Presbytery*, and *Greenshields*, with all the Victory he had obtain'd, did not think fit to adventure to *Edinburgh* again to proceed with his first Project till the Year after; when his Party, finding the Publick Scene of Affairs in *England* changing more to their Advantage, push'd at, and carry'd Higher-Points than all those, and such as, till then, we thought impossible any Parliament of *Great Britain* had a Right to do, or would ever make an Attempt to go about. But, *Tempora Mutantur*: Our next Chapter must give an Account of stranger Things than these.

C H A P.



C H A P. VI.

Giving an Account of the Endeavours of the Episcopal and Jacobite-Party in Scotland, for the Invasion of the Presbyterian Church, declaring the Union alterable, and breaking in upon the express Articles of it; with their Success in both.



THE House of Lords, as is noted before, tho' they had effectually revers'd the Sentence of the Magistrates of *Edinb.* against Mr. *Green-shields*, yet having not adventured to meddle with the Jurisdiction of the Church, or determin'd, one Way or other, the Validity of the Sentence of the *Presbytery*. The Victory the *Episcopal* Party had obtain'd thereby, was not so compleat as it was expected; neither did it any Way answer the End of the Party, and therefore still finding, as I said before, the Juncture favourable,

favourable, and their Party so predominant, that they thought nothing could be deny'd them, they proceeded to such farther Attempts in Parliament, in the Year 17th, as, till then, it was generally thought they had Assurance enough to hope for, neither did many of their own Party think it was possible for them to go the length we have since found them: But this being an Age of Wonders, nothing is now to seem Strange.

The first Step they took of this kind, was to bring in a *Toleration* into *Scotland*, and to Repeal such Acts of Parliament which stood in their Way.

It was objected, That these Acts of Parliament were included in the Treaty of *Union*, and that the Treaty was Essential, and Unalterable; that the Power of the *British Parliament* could not extend to it, and this, indeed, was allow'd for a Reason, in the Parliament before, when an Attempt of the like Nature being offer'd, it was answer'd, *That the Parliament had not Power to do it.*

But to evade this; a New Proposition was started, viz. That every Act of the *Constitution* was alterable by the Sovereign Power, or Supreme Authority of the said *Constitution*; but to leave it with more Authority, I shall give it you in their own Words, viz. *Are not they Blockheads who say, That any Thing is unalterable, because the Law says 'tis unalterable? Is there not a particular Act*

Act of Parliament in Scotland, which declares the Lineal Succession of the Royal Family unalterable? And is it not Treason to say, That that could not be alter'd? Certainly, where-ever there is a Sovereign Power they not only can, but have alter'd every Thing, which many foolishly think is either unalterable in its own Nature, or the Law has declar'd unalterable: He is a Stranger to our Constitution who can call any thing Fundamental but the present Constitution.

Upon this Foot they made no Scruple to lay Schemes for over-turning the Whole Establishment of the Church in *Scotland*, and undoing all that was settled there by the Union. I shall not make this a Discourse of Controversie, about the Power the *British* Parliament has, or has not, to alter, or rescind the Union; but I may, as a Quotation, give you something which was then offer'd in Opposition to that Notion: It is no matter by whom, and which, till answer'd, may remain as an Essential, or Fundamental, upon which those People, who laid a Stress upon the Union, built their Claim.

The Designs of the *Episcopal* and *Jacobite* Party, for they are but one Party and one People, in *Scotland*, having been manifestly driven on, at the Ruin of the *Presbyterian* Establishment there; they knew it was impossible to bring this to pass, but by Sapping the Foundations of the Union, which had declar'd the
said

said Establishment of the Church, as well as many other Things, to be *Unalterable*: This crabbed unhappy Word they could not bear, for if it remain'd, they could never Master the *Presbyterian Settlement*, which was the Eye-Sore of the Party, both there and here, and which the *Union* had perpetuated.

To this purpose they bent all their little Cavils at this fatal Word *Unalterable*, which if they could but *get over*, every Thing would be easie to them *after it*; and as often as they can get a *Jacobite* Ascendant in the Ministry, or Parliament, they will push at that Fundamental Constitution of *Britain*, the *Union*.

To come therefore close to the Point, I shall Examine the Validity of this Word *Unalterable*, in the Articles of *Union*, and in doing this, I think it will appear,

1. That it is the only Essential, which gives Strength and Value to that Great Transaction, and that all the rest is of no Consequence or Consideration without it.

2. That without it, *the whole Union* is a Cheat, a Snare laid to Entrap a whole Nation, a Politick Fraud, back'd with Court Assurances, Royal Authorities, and Parliamentary Ratifications, on purpose to draw in an Innocent People to depend upon empty Notions, Inconsistent in themselves, and of no Signification.

3. That without it, Her Majesty would seem not only to deceive Herself in the Joy
She

She conceiv'd at the making the *Union*, but Her People also, in the Hopes She gave them of the future Peace and Happiness they might expect, as the Consequences of this *Union*; *vid. Her Majesty's Speeches to the Parliament at the passing the Act of Union, and several before, during the Treaty.*

4. That the Makers of this *Union*, both in *England* and *Scotland*, understood it to be UNALTERABLE, and that as such, it pass'd in those very Terms, and that therefore the Words *Alterable* and *Unalterable*, were put into the Treaty, where they stand as a Testimony against them.

If this be prov'd, then I firmly believe I prove, That no Constituted Human Power upon Earth has a Legal Right to ALTER, Explain, Add to, or Diminish from that Treaty; and that when any Infraction is made into it, by any Power which receives its Constitution from it, that Constitution, *the Union being broken*, dies, dissolves, and ceases to be a Constitution from that Time, by the very Nature of the very *Union*.

As I am writing to the common Understanding, so I appeal to every Reader, whether it was not our Expectation or Belief, That an Eternal End was put to the Strife of the Two Nations; whether it was not understood, That neither had Power to break this *Union*? Whether it was not the general receiv'd Notion we had of it, That it was

as

as much *Unalterable*, as any thing in Human Nature could be so, or as the Wit and Capacity of Men could devise?

But come we next to the *Union itself*: Why is it said in the 17th, and the 18th, and the 19th Articles of the *Union*, and several others, That such and such Parts shall be *nevertheless alterable* by a Parliament of Great Britain? And why is it said in others *Unalterable, and without any Alteration for ever*, as in the *Act for the Security of the Church of England, as well as of the Church of Scotland*, Article 25? Does not the expressing, That this or that Part shall be *Alterable*, most strongly infer, That the rest is to be understood, not to be *Alterable*, even by the Parliament? And does not the express Articling in the *Act of Security* aforesaid, That such a Thing shall be *Unalterable*, and shall for that purpose be incerted in, and made part of the *Act of Union* unanswerably confirm, That what was in the said *Union*, was of course *Unalterable*, except otherwise express'd, because the *Union* itself was so?

But a Difficulty remains here, which they think we dare not enter into, for fear of the Parliament, *viz.* What do we mean by *Unalterable*? Is it, or can any thing be *Unalterable* by the Parliament of Britain? Or is any Thing *Unalterable* by a Sovereign Power? And this is their boast.

But the *Jacobites* shew their Weakness here,

here, and are mistaken in our Parliament; for a *British* Parliament, having the Bounds of their Sovereign Power declared in the *Laws*, in the Claims of Right, in the *Custom and Usage* of Parliament, and in the known Parts of the Constitution, are never displeased that the Subjects of *Britain*, the Freeholders and Freemen whom they represent, should know the Powers, Rights, and Foundations upon which they act, and all the several Extents and Limitations of those Powers, Rights, and Foundations.

And what a Scandal and Reproach do such Men cast on a *British* Parliament? Or what kind of a Monster would they make of it, That a Man should not dare to speak Known, Legal, and Necessary Truths for fear of their Resentment? As if a *British* Parliament, *horrid Suggestion!* Could be suppos'd to resent, or be offended at a plain, just, clear Representation of Truth in Fact, whether relating to their own Constitution, or any thing else: The Parliament are our Protectors in that Happy Liberty of *speaking plain Truths*, the want of which Liberty makes other Nations Slaves, and comfortably distinguishes *Englishmen* from all the Nations of the World.

And therefore it is no Treason, or Offence, to say, The Parliament *cannot* do this or that, or *have not* this or that Power, for it is apparent, That the Parliament may have some, *and really have several* Limitations to their
Legal

Legal Power. And as I am now speaking to *Jacobites*, what if I should throw into their Teeth, *their own Doctrine* of the Divine Right of the Person of the Prince, and the Descent of the Crown *in the right Line*, which they call *Indefeizible*, and which they say is *not in the Power* of Parliament to alter? Tho' this is far from being my Opinion, and I think it a ridiculous System, yet it is *upon this Foot alone that they can remain Jacobites*; and therefore it is a good Reason to them, and an Argument which I believe they cannot answer.

But to descend plianly to the thing: With all Deference and Duty to the Parliament, and as I think, with a well-guided Zeal to the Constitution; I shall lay down my Notion of the *Unalterable* Quality of the *Union*, and the Reason why I think, even the Parliament itself cannot *ALTER* one Tittle of it, except what is declared in the *Act of Union* to be *Alterable*.

I lay down my Assumption thus: Every Power on Earth derives from some other Power Prior, and therefore Superiour to it self, as every Created Being is inferior, both in Dignity and Power, to *that Being which created it*.

The Two separate Constitutions of *England* and *Scotland*, from which *in their Treating Capacity*, the present united Constitution of *Britain* was produced, being Prior to, and creating *this united Constitution*, were in *that*

Capacity, superior to the present *Constitution*, as they were prior to, and created it.

I infer from hence, That the said Two separate *Constitutions* of *England* and *Scotland*, having by *Treaty* and *mutual Stipulation*, which is called the *Union*, formed and constituted, or created one Body, viz. The *Present Constitution*, the Body so formed, is the *Daughter or Child of that Union*.

I infer next, That this *Union* of the Two *Constitutions*, having produced this said Body, or subsequent *Constitution*, had a Power to bind and limit the said subsequent; which Bounds and Limits, the said subsequent, which is the present *Constitution* of *Britain*, has no Legal Right to break.

If this be true, then I see no Crime in asserting, That the *British Parliament* cannot go beyond the Limits of the *Treaty*; it is our Satisfaction that the *Parliament* is sitting, while this is Writing, and so we know who hears: Let then the *Jacobite Party*, who stand openly up for a Breach of the *Treaty*, and would fain involve us in Confusion; I say, let them stand forth, and answer it if they can to the *Parliament*, or if not, they ought to be censured for reproaching the *British Parliament*.

It seems a very unhappy Crisis, that a *Treaty of Union* being, with the greatest Solemnity imaginable, made with the *Scots*, vast Sums given to the *Scots*, and some spent in

in the bringing the great Transaction to pass, it should, within less than five Year, become a Question among us, whither this Union can be broken by us, or no; it seem'd much more reasonable to expect, that the Publick should have study'd Ways and Means farther to Confirm and Establish the said Union, and to Cultivate and Improve it, letting the People of *Scotland* see that they were Gainers, and should be improv'd by the Union, that they should taste of the Sweets of *English* Liberty, and that Trade should flow in upon them, and their Wealth and Riches encrease.

But instead of this, the *Jacobite* and *Episcopal* Party study'd all the Ways they could devise to Insult and Affront the *Constitution* of the *Church*, and finding all Things ripe for their Designs, they began in Parliament, by getting a Bill to be brought in for setting up the *English Liturgy* in *Scotland*, and Tollerating the *Episcopal Meetings*, &c.

It was not the first time that this had been driven at by the *Highb-Party*, nor could the greatest Effort for the bringing it to pass be fore ever succeed.

The History of this is very short, and shall be shorter here, because I shall give you the Act itself, at least such part of it as is most material, the Act itself being inseparable from the Story.

The Bill being brought into the House Dr. *William Carstairs*, Principal of the College of *Edinburgh*, Mr. *Thomas Blackwell*, Professor of Divinity in the College of *Aberdeen*, and Mr. *Robert Bailie*, Minister of *Inverness*, being all then in Town, presented the following Petition to the Parliament.

In Collect of
Scot Papers
at p. 48

To the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament Assembled.

The humble Petition of William Carstairs, Dr. in Divinity, Principal of the College at Edinburgh, Thomas Blackwell, Professor of Divinity at Aberdeen, and Robert Bailie, Minister of Inverness.

Most humbly sheweth,

THAT your Petitioners being Ministers of the Establish'd Church in Scotland, and very much concern'd for the Peace and Welfare thereof; and being inform'd, That a Bill is depending in this Honourable House, entitled, *A Bill to prevent the Disturbing those of the Episcopal Communion in Scotland in the Exercise of their Religious Worship, and in the Use of the Liturgy of the Church of England, and for Repealing the Act against Irregular Baptisms and Marriages.*

And the Commissioners of the Assembly of the Church of Scotland, being at a very great Distance from this Honourable House, and having no Notice of any such Bill depending; and the said Bill being of very great Consequence to the Establish'd Church in Scotland, and altering the Laws, as well before, as upon the Union, (as your Petitioners

‘ petitioners humbly conceive) made for its Prefer-
 ‘ vation, and securing the Rights and Liberties
 ‘ thereof.

Your Petitioners, in all Humility, presume to Petition this Honourable House, That this House would be pleased to allow a reasonable Time for to send to the Commissioners of the Assembly in Scotland, to acquaint them with the Contents of the said Bill, before the same do pass, in regard it so much concern’d the Church of Scotland; and also for, that there are several very extraordinary Clauses (as your Petitioners humbly conceive) in the said Bill, or otherwise, as your Petitioners apprehend it, will be a great surprize to the Church of Scotland to pass this Bill without their being heard, what they have humbly to lay before this House against the same, or what they have humbly to offer as Amendments thereof.

And your Petitioners shall ever Pray.

This Petition, however reasonable the Request appear’d, which was, in short, only to be heard before the Bill pass’d, was reject-
 ed, and the House proceeded.

The Commission of the General Assembly was all this while sitting in *Scotland*, and finding how Things were going, and that they should not be heard in the House of Commons, they drew up a very Pathetick Representation to Her Majesty, on the Subject of their Establishment and Privileges; which Representation being a recital of the Fundamental Establishment of their said Privileges, is the best History that can be given

of the Thing itself, and therefore I thought it most useful in this Place.

To the Queen's most Excellent Majesty.

*m. Collect
of Scot Paper
p 5* The most humble Representation and Petition
of the Commission of the late General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.

May it please Your Majesty,

THE Church of Christ in Scotland being, as we apprehend, in hazard of sad Alterations and Innovations, inconsistent with, and contrary to that happy Establishment secur'd to us by the Laws, both of God and the Realm, from a Bill, intituled, *A Bill to prevent the disturbing those of the Episcopal Communion, in that Part of Great Britain, call'd Scotland, in the Exercise of their Religious Worship, and in the Use of the Liturgy of the Church of England; and for repealing an Act of Parliament against Irregular Baptism and Marriages.* We do in all Duty and Humility fly to Your Majesty's Royal Protection, so often and so graciously assur'd to us, both by Your Royal Word and Letters.

If the Matters in Question did only relate to our own Ease, and better Accomodation, we should patiently bear the same: But when we see the Glory of God, and the Power and Purity of our Holy Religion, and of the Ordinances of Jesus Christ in this Church so much concern'd, and the Peace and Quiet thereof, and of this whole Country so visibly in Danger, to the Prejudice of Your Majesty's Honour and Government; We cannot but hope Your Majesty will allow us to plead our just Right, with that Gracious Liberty You were pleas'd to give to the Meanest of Your Subjects.

When

When after the great and many Hardships, Troubles and Vicissitudes, wherewith the Church of *Scotland* had been tossed even from its first Reformation from Popery. It pleased our Gracious God, at, and by the late Revolution, to bless us with a full and compleat Restitution, and that by the Claim of Right, and the Acts of Parliament following; *Viz.* The 5th Act of the Parliament 1690, entituled, *An Act for ratifying the Confession of Faith, and settling Presbyterian Church Government*; Whereby Presbyterian Church Government is establish'd, ratify'd and confirm'd, as the only Government of Christ's Church within this Kingdom, rescinding, annulling, and making void all Acts of Parliament, Statutes and Ordinances in the Contrary; allowing and declaring the general Meeting, and the Representatives of the Ministers and Elders, in whose Hands the Exercise of the Church Government is establish'd, to have Power to try and purge out all insufficient, negligent, scandalous and erroneous Ministers, by due Course of Ecclesiastical Process and Censures; and likewise to redress all other Church Disorders. By which Act it is evident, that Presbyterian Church Government being thus Establish'd, the Ministers and Elders of this Church have all the Powers committed by your Lord and Master, to his Ministers and Officers, to watch over his Flock, and to guard it against all Usurpers and Intruders. 2dly, By the 23d Act of Parliament 1693, entitl'd, *An Act for settling the Quiet and Peace of the Church*; whereby it is expressly Statute and Ordain'd, That no Person be admitted, or continued to be a Minister, or Preach within this Church, unless he first take and subscribe the Oath of Allegiance and Assurance, and also subscribe the Confession of Faith as the Confession of his Faith: As likewise,

that he Owns and Acknowledges Presbyterian Church Government to be the only Government of this Church. And further, That he observe the Uniformity of Worship, and of the Administration of all publick Ordinances, as the same are at present perform'd, and allow'd within this Church; and that no Minister or Preacher be admitted or continued, unless he subscribes to observe and do actually see observed the aforesaid Uniformity. 3dly, By the 22d Act of the Parliament 1695, entitled, *An Act against intruding into Churches, without a legal Call and Admission thereto*. By which Act is it Statute and declar'd, That whosoever shall intrude themselves into any Church, or shall exercise any Part of the Ministerial Function within any Parish, without an Orderly Call from the Heretors and Eldership, and legal Admission from the Presbytery of the Bounds, shall be removed, and also incapable for the Space mention'd in the Act. And 4thly, by the third Act of the Parliament 1702, entitled, *An Act for securing the true Protestant Religion and Presbyterian Government*. Whereby the aforesaid Act 1690, is fully ratify'd; by which Acts, and several others to that Purpose, which we humbly presume to lay together for Your Majesty's more full Information; We with all submission, conceive that Presbyterian Church Government is as fully settled and secured as could be devised; and as the Worship, Discipline, and Government of this Church were complied with, and submitted to without any alteration in all Time, since the Reformation, when Presbyterian Government was establish'd by Law, so there is no Reason to doubt but the same chearful and universal Compliance had been given thereto, at, and ever since the late happy Revolution, if it had not been for that woful Seed of Disaffection to the Revolution, and Your Majesty's Government, as thereby establish'd,
and

and which indeed has been the Principal, if not the only Cause of these few Prosecutions, that occasion'd so loud and unjust a Clamour.

But that Your Majesty may further be satisfied of the Injustice of these Calumnies, wherewith we are reproach'd for excessive Rigour, we cannot but lay before Your Majesty this pregnant Instance of our Moderation; That since our late Establishment, there have been taken in and continu'd Hundreds of Dissenting Ministers upon the easiest Terms; and we are further assur'd, that when any just Trial shall be made, we shall ever be found inclin'd to all that Christian Tendernefs that can be expected from such as fear God, and love our Lord Jesus Christ, in Sincerity; Your Majesty then, by what is here humbly represented may plainly perceive what Security we have had for our present Settlement before the Union; but then, in order to the Union, and for the facilitating thereof, we have the Sixth Act of the Parliament 1707, Intitl'd, *Act for securing the Protestant Religion and Presbyterian Government*, whereby the Hail Acts above set down are ratify'd and approv'd, and Your Majesty furder with Advice and Consent of the Estates of Parliament, expressly provides and declares, That the foresaid true Protestant Religion contained in the above mention'd Confession of Faith, with the Form and Purity of Worship presently in use within that Church and its *Presbyterian* Church Government and Discipline, all established by the aforesaid Acts of Parliament, pursuant to the Claim of Right, shall remain and continue, unalterable, and that the said *Presbyterian* Government shall be the only Government of the Church within the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and furder after the decease of Your Majesty (whom God long preserve) the Sovereign succeeding, shall in all time coming at his or her Accession to the Crown

Crown, swear and subscribe, That they will inviolably maintain and preserve the aforesaid Settlement of the True Protestant Religion, with the Government, Worship, Discipline, Rights, and Priviledges of this Church above by Law Establish'd; And it is further Statute and Ordained, That this Act of Parliament, with the Establishment therein contained, shall be held and observed in all time coming, as a Fundamental and Essential Condition of any Treaty of Union, to be concluded betwixt the Two Kingdoms, without any Alteration thereof, or Derogation thereto in any Sort whatsoever; as also, that this Act of Parliament and Settlement therein contain'd, shall be insert and repeated in any Act of Parliament that should pass for agreeing and concluding the aforesaid Treaty of Union betwixt the Two Kingdoms, and that the same shall therein be declared to be an Essential and Fundamental Condition of the said Treaty of Union in all time coming: And accordingly, and that our Church might have the Plenary Security above provided, and that as was then plainly said, and as the Acts sufficiently import our Security above-mentioned, might be stated and established in a manner even beyond the reach of Parliament. In both Acts of Parliament passed in both Kingdoms, ratifying approving the Treaty of Union, the aforesaid Act for securing the Protestant Religion and *Presbyterian* Church Government, is expressly insert and is thereby Statute and Ordained, That this Act with the Establishment therein contained, shall be held and observed in all Time coming, as a Fundamental and Essential Condition of the aforesaid Treaty of Union, without any Alteration thereof, or Derogation thereto in any Sort for ever.

This being our great and plenary Security in Law, that we have for our present Church Government

ment and Establishment, and we being in Danger on the other Hand of Alterations and Innovations intended by the aforesaid Bill, depending before the Honourable House of Commons, wherein beside the hard Reflections contained in the Preface, it is propos'd to be Enacted, That *Episcopal Dissenters* shall have Liberty to meet and assemble for the Exercise of Divine Worship in their own manner, and to use in their Congregations the Liturgy of the Church of *England* without any Disturbance, and that for qualifying such Pastors *Episcopal Orders*, and presenting Letters of their Orders to the Justice of the Peace shall be sufficient, and that no Person or Persons, shall incur any Penalty whatsoever, upon his or her Resorting to the said *Episcopal Meeting*, and that it shall be Free and Lawful, for all the Subjects in that Part of *Great Britain* called *Scotland*, to assemble and meet for Divine Service without any Disturbance, and to settle their Congregations where they think fit, and for the *Episcopal Ministers*, not only to pray and preach in their Congregations, but to administer the Sacraments, and may without incurring any Pain or Penalty whatsoever, or without any other Caveat, That appears for their Doctrine, save that they shall not deny in their preaching or writing of the Doctrine of the Blessed Trinity, and withal that the *Presbyterian* Clergy, are still allowed to inflict Ecclesiastical Censures upon those of their own Communion, which plainly imports an exemption from all, who shall disown their Communion.

We cannot but in the first place express our astonishing Surprise, and deep Affliction, to hear of such Bill offered for such a large, and almost boundless Toleration, not only threatening the Overthrow of this CHURCH, but giving a large Licence, almost to all Errors and Blasphemies, throwing

throwing up all good Discipline to the Dishonour of God, and the Scandal and Ruin of the true Christian Religion, and the infallible Disturbance of the Quiet, and to the Confusion of this Church and Nation, And therefore in the next Place, we do with all Humility, but with the greatest Earnestness beseech, nay obtest Your Majesty by the same Mercy of GOD that restored this Church, and raised Your Majesty to the Throne, to interpose for the Relief of this Church, and the Maintenance of the present Establishment, against such a manifest and ruining Encroachment, in such manner, as in your Royal Wisdom and Justice You shall think needful.

That the Gracious GOD, may ever guide your Majesty with his Councils, till after a long and happy Reign upon Earth, he crowns you with Glory in Heaven, shall be the Earnest Prayers

*May it please Your Majesty, Your Majesty's most Faithful,
Obedient, and most Humble Servants and Subjects.*

The Ministers, and Elders, Commissioners, of the late General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.

*Sign'd in our Name, and at our Appointment, by
Sic Subscribitur, William Mitchel, Moderator.*

This Representation was presented to the Queen by the same three Ministers above-mentioned who presented the Petition to the House, being introduced to Her Majesty by the Earl of *Dartmouth*, Secretary of State, they had a very Gracious Reception by Her Majesty. But the Queen answer'd only in general Terms, *That She should take the Church of Scotland always into Her Protection; that She was sensible of their Dutiful Behaviour, and was concern'd for their Peace and Wellfare; that the present Affair was before the Parliament; that she did not usually concern*
Herself

Herself to interpose while any Bill was depending in the Houses, but that, when it came before Her, She should act as She thought most for the good of Scotland: And more to this Effect.

In the mean Time the Bill pass'd the Lower-House: There had been a Motion made in the House to oblige the *Dissenters* tolerated by this Bill, to take the Oaths of Allegiance and Abjuration; but it was alleg'd, That many of the *Presbyterian* Ministers declin'd the said *Abjuration*; and it would be hard to put the Episcopal People to take any more Oaths than the Establish'd Church took: This the House observing, let the Bill pass, and allow'd the Episcopal *Dissenters* to have their Meetings and their Liberty, without taking any Oaths at all.

But it went not thorough the House of Lords so, for the Three Ministers before mention'd, who had Petition'd the *Commons*, apply'd themselves, by Petition, to the *House of Lords*, and obtain'd to be heard by *Council* against the Bill; which being done, the Lords made two Amendments to the Bill; *First*, That, in all the Episcopal Meetings which were tollerated, the Minister should take the Oaths to the Queen: *Secondly*, They made a little Alteration in the *Abjuration-Oath*, to satisfie the Scruples of the *Presbyterian* Ministers, by putting out the Words AS THE SAME, and putting instead thereof the Word WHICH. The Reader, in the Copy of the Act which follows, will easily

easily see the reason of the Alteration, and that it was no way Essential to the Oath, or gave the least room to insinuate *Jacobite* Principles were the reason of it: But when the Bill came down to the *House of Commons*, that small Favour could not be obtain'd, and those who were content to excuse the *Jacobite* Episcopal Clergy from taking the Oaths at all, would not abate a Scrupulous, Conscientious *Presbyterian* the Explanation of one Word by another not in the least Essential to the Nature, or Substance of the Oath.

The *Commons* therefore agreeing to the *Lords*, in their Judgment for obliging the Episcopal Ministers to take the Oaths, yet disagreed to the other; and the *Lords* gave it up; so the Act was pass'd; the Consequences none can yet foresee.

The Act, as well to let my Reader see the Particulars above, as also that they may set it against the Act of Union, and see how they Correspond, I have here inserted, at least the most material Part, and is as follows:

An Act to Prevent the Disturbing those of the Episcopal Communion in that Part of Great Britain call'd Scotland, in the Exercise of their Religious Worship, and in the Use of the Liturgy of the Church of England; and for Repealing the Act passed in the Parliament of Scotland, Intituled, Act against Irregular Baptisms and Marriages.

W Hereas since the Abolishing of Episcopal Government in *Scotland*, those of the Episcopal Perswasion there have been frequently Disturbed and interrupted in their Religious

Religious Assemblies, and their Ministers Prosecuted for Reading the *English Service* in their Congregations, and for Administring the Sacraments, according to the Form and Manner prescrib'd in the Liturgy of the Church of *England*; Be it therefore Enacted, &c. That it shall be Free and Lawful for all those of the Episcopal Communion in that Part of *Great Britain* called *Scotland*, to Meet and Assemble for the Exercise of Divine Worship, to be performed after their own Manner by Pastors Ordained by a Protestant Bishop, and who are not Established Ministers of any Church or Parish, and to Use in their Congregations the Liturgy of the Church of *England*, if they think fit, without any Let, Hindrance, or Disturbance from any Person whatsoever; and all Sheriffs of Shires, Stewards of Stewartries, and Magistrates of Boroughs, and Justices of the Peace, are hereby strictly Required, to give all manner of Protection, Aid, and Assistance to such Episcopal Ministers, and those of their own Communion, in their Meetings and Assemblies for the Worship of God, held in any Town or Place, except Parish-Churches, within the Extent and Jurisdiction of that Part of *Great Britain* called *Scotland*.

Provided always, That none shall presume to Exercise the Function of a Pastor in the said Episcopal Meetings and Congregations, except such as shall have received Holy Orders from the Hands of a Protestant Bishop; and that every Person who shall be called or appointed to be a Pastor or Minister of any Episcopal Congregation or Assembly, before he take upon him to Officiate as Pastor of the said Congregation, be hereby Obligated and Required to present his Letters of Orders to the Justices of Peace, at their General or Quarter-Sessions to be held for the Shire, Stewartry, City, Town, or other Place in which the said Episcopal Congregation is or shall be; and that the said Letters of Orders be there Entred on Record by the Register or Clerk of the said Meeting of the Justices, for which there shall be no greater Fee or Reward taken than the Sum of One Shilling.

And be it further Enacted, That all Ministers of the Established Church of *Scotland*, and all and every Person and Persons, who is or are Pastor or Pastors, Minister or Ministers of any Episcopal Congregation in *Scotland*, shall be Obligated, and are hereby Required, on or before the First Day of *August* next to come, to Take and Subscribe the following Oaths, in such Manner, and under such Penalties, as all Officers, Civil and Military, in *Scotland* are Obligated to Take the Oath recited in the Fourteenth Act of the Sixth Year of Her Majesty's Reign, Intituled, *An Act for the bet-*

ter Security of Her Majesty's Person and Government: And that all Ministers of the Established Church of Scotland, hereafter to be admitted into their respective Churches or Benefices, and all and every Person and Persons, who shall hereafter be Pastor or Pastors, Minister or Ministers of any Episcopal Congregation, shall, before such Admission or Exercise of their respective Functions, be Obligated to Take and Subscribe likewise the following Oaths, in the same Manner, and under the same Penalties above mentioned.

I A. B. *do sincerely Promise and Swear, That I will be Faithful, and bear true Allegiance to Her Majesty Queen ANNE:*

So help me God,

I A. B. *do truly and sincerely Acknowledge, Profess, Testifie, and Declare in my Conscience, before God and the World, That our Sovereign Lady Queen ANNE is Lawful and Rightful Queen of this Realm, and of all other Her Majesty's Dominions and Countries thereunto belonging. And I do solemnly and sincerely Declare, That I do believe in my Conscience, the Person pretended to be Prince of Wales, during the Life of the late King James, and since his Decease pretending to be, and taking upon himself the Stile and Title of King of England, by the Name of James the Third, or of Scotland, by the Name of James the Eighth, or the Stile and Title of King of Great Britain, hath not any Right or Title whatsoever to the Crown of this Realm, or any other the Dominions thereunto belonging: And I do Renounce, Refuse, and Abjure any Allegiance or Obedience to him. And I do Swear, That I will bear Faith and true Allegiance to Her Majesty Queen Anne, and Her will Defend, to the Utmost of my Power, against all Traiterous Conspiracies and Attempts whatsoever, which shall be made against Her Person, Crown, or Dignity. And I will do my best Endeavour to Disclose and make Known to Her Majesty, and Her Successors, all Treasons and Traiterous Conspiracies which I shall know to be against Her, or any of Them. And I do faithfully Promise, to the Utmost of my Power, to Support, Maintain, and Defend the Succession of the Crown against him the said James, and all other Persons whatsoever, as the same is and stands Settled [by an Act Intituled, An Act Declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject, and Settling the Succession of the Crown] to Her present Majesty, and the Heirs of Her Body, being Protestants; And as the same [by One other Act, Intituled, An Act for the further Limitation of the Crown, and*

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and better Securing the Rights and Liberties of the Subject is and stands Settled and Entailed, after the Decease of Her Majesty, and for Default of Issue of Her Majesty, to the Princess Sophia, Electress and Dutchess Dowager of Hanover, and the Heirs of Her Body, being Protestants. And all these Things I do plainly and sincerely Acknowledge and Swear, according to these express Words by me spoken, and according to the plain and common Sense and Understanding of the same Words, without any Equivocation, Mental Evasion, or Secret Reservation whatsoever. And I do make this Recognition, Acknowledgment, Abjuration, Renunciation, and Promise, heartily, willingly and truly, upon the true Faith of a Christian:

So help me God.

Provided always, That the Assembly of Persons for Religious Worship in the Episcopal Meetings, be held with Doors not Locked, Barred, or Bolted, during such Assembly; and that nothing herein contained shall be Construed to Exempt any of the Persons Frequenting the said Episcopal Congregations from Paying of Tythes, or other Parochial Duties to the Church, or Minister of the Parish to which they belong, and in which they reside.

And whereas, since the Establishment of the Presbyterian Government in Scotland, some Laws have been made by the Parliament in Scotland against the Episcopal Clergy of that Part of the United Kingdom, and particularly an Act passed in the Parliament held in the Year One Thousand Six Hundred Ninety Five, Intituled, *An Act against Irregular Baptism and Marriages*, by which all Episcopal Ministers, who were turned out of their Churches, are prohibited to Baptize any Children, or to Solemnize any Marriage upon Pain of Perpetual Imprisonment or Banishment: Be it therefore Enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That the said Act abovementioned be hereby Repealed and Annulled; and that in all Time coming no Person or Persons shall incur any Disability, Forfeiture, or Penalty whatsoever, upon account of his or their Resorting to the said Episcopal Meetings held for the Worship of God; and that it shall be Free and Lawful for all the Subjects in that Part of Great Britain called Scotland, to Assemble and Meet together for Divine Service, without any Disturbance, and to Settle their Congregations in what Towns or Places they shall think fit to choose, except Parish-Churches, and for the Episcopal Ministers, not only to pray and preach in the Episcopal Congregations, but to Administer the Sacraments, and Marry, without Incur-

ring any Pain or Penalty whatsoever; Any Law or Statute to the contrary notwithstanding.

Provided always, That the Parents who have their Children Christened by Episcopal Ministers, be hereby obliged to Enter the Birth and Christening of their Children in the Register-Books for Christenings belonging to the respective Parishes in which they live: And Provided likewise, That no Episcopal Minister or Ministers, residing within that Part of the United Kingdom called *Scotland*, presume to Marry any Persons, but those whose Bans have been duly Published Three several Lord's Days in the Episcopal Congregations which the Two Parties frequent, and in the Churches to which they belong as Parishoners, by virtue of their Residence; and that upon the same Pains and Punishments as are already inflicted by the Laws of *Scotland*, in Cases of Clandestine Marriages; and the Ministers of the Parish-Churches are hereby obliged to Publish the said Bans in any Episcopal Congregation alone; Any Law, Statute, or Custom to the contrary notwithstanding.

Provided always, and it is the true Intent and Meaning of this Act, That all the Laws made against Prophaneness and Immorality, and for the Frequenting of Divine Services on the Lord's Day, commonly called *Sunday*, shall be still in Force, and Executed against all Persons that Offend against the said Laws, or shall not Resort either to some Church, or to some Congregation, or Assembly of Religious Worship, Allowed and Permitted by this Act.

Provided likewise, That neither this Act, nor any Clause, Article or Thing herein contained, shall Extend, or be construed to Extend to give any Ease, Benefit, or Advantage to any *Papist* or *Popish Recusant* whatsoever, or to any Person that shall Deny in his Preaching or Writing, the Doctrine of the Blessed Trinity.

And be it further Enacted, That if any Person or Persons, at any Time after the Twenty Fifth Day of *March* next to come, shall willingly, and of purpose, maliciously or contemptuously, come into any Congregation, or Assembly of Religious Worship, permitted by this Act, and Disquiet or Disturb the same, or give any Disturbance to the said Congregation, at the Doors or Windows, or misuse any Minister or Pastor of such Congregation, such Person or Persons, upon Proof thereof before Two Justices of the Peace, by Two or more sufficient Witnesses, shall find Two Sureties to be bound by Recognizance in the Penal Sum of Fifty Pounds Sterling, for his or their Appearance at the next General or Quarter-Sessions, or before the Court of Jusiciary, or other Judge

Judge or Judges competent, and in Default of such Sutesies shall be committed to Prison, and upon Conviction of the said Offence, at the said General or Quarter-Sessions, or before the said Court of Justiciary, or other Judge or Judges competent, shall forfeit the Sum of One Hundred Pounds Sterling; one Moiety thereof to the Informer, the other to be disposed of for the Use of the Poor of the Parish where such Offence shall be committed; and if the Magistrates of any Town or Place, or others pretending to have Authority or Jurisdiction any where in *Scotland*, shall, in Contempt of this Law, Forbid or Hinder those of the Episcopal Perswasion from Meeting or Assembling together for Divine Worship, in the Places subject to their Jurisdiction, or shall shut up, or cause to be shut up the Doors of the Houses, or other Places where such Episcopal Assemblies are held or intended to be held, such Magistrates and others so offending, upon Proof thereof before the Court of Justiciary, by Two or more sufficient Witnesses, shall forfeit the Sum of One hundred Pounds Sterling, to be distributed, as aforesaid.

And be it further Declared and Enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That no Civil Pain, or Forfeiture, or Disability whatsoever, shall be in any ways incurred by any Person or Persons, by Reason of any Excommunication or Prosecution, in order to Excommunication by the Church Judicatories in that Part of *Great Britain* called *Scotland*; and all Civil Magistrates are hereby expressly prohibited and discharged to Force and Compel any Person or Persons to Appear when Summoned, or to give Obedience to any such Sentence when Pronounced; Any Law or Custom to the Contrary notwithstanding.

And be it further Enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That every Minister and Preacher, as well in the Established Church in that Part of *Great Britain* called *Scotland*, as those of the Episcopal Communion, Protected and Allowed by this Act, shall, at some time, during the Exercise of the Divine Service in such respective Church, or Congregation, or Assembly, Pray in express Words for Her most Sacred Majesty Queen *Anne*, and the most Excellent Princess *Sophia*, Electress and Dutches Dowager of *Hanover*, while living, and all the Royal Family: And every such Minister or Preacher neglecting so to do, shall for the First Offence forfeit the Sum of Twenty Pound Sterling, to be recovered and distributed in such manner as touching the other Penalties in this Act is herein before directed; and for the Second Offence every Minister of the Established Church in that Part of *Great Britain* called *Scotland*, being thereof Convicted by

the Oaths of Two sufficient Witnesses before the Lords of Justiciary, shall be *ipso facto* Deprived, and Declared Incapable of any Church or Ecclesiastical Living during the Space of Three Years; and every Episcopal Minister Allowed and Protected by this Act, being thereof in like manner Convicted, shall from thenceforth Forfeit and Lose the Benefit of this Act, and be Declared Incapable of Officiating as Pastor of any Episcopal Congregation, during the Space of Three Years.

Provided always, That no Minister or Preacher Offending herein, shall suffer such Penalties, or either of them, unless he be Prosecuted for the same within the Space of Two Months after the Offence is Committed.

This Bill needs no Comment; the History of the Affairs of *Scotland*, from the Passing it, is like, for many Years, to be the Explanation, both of the Act, and of the Design of the Party that push'd it on.

But they are not to be expected to stop here: The next Step we find them taking, strikes at the Root of the *Presbyterian Settlement* itself, and aims at the Planting *Episcopacy* itself in the very Parish-Churches of *Scotland*; this is by restoring the Right of Patronage in *Scotland*: It may be needful to speak a Word or two to this very briefly.

The Right of Patronage, or presenting Ministers to Parishes, as it was Originally *Popish*, so it was demolish'd with *Popery* at the first Reformation in *Scotland*, the People claiming a Scriptural Right for Choosing and Calling their own Ministers. When *Presbytery* was next put down at the Restoration of King *Charles II.* and *Episcopacy* erected, this *Popish Claim*, tho' methodized after the Protestant

Protestant Manner, was re-assumed: But in the Year 90, when *Episcopacy* being abolish'd, the *Presbyterian* Church was establish'd; the Right of *Patronages*, as inconsistent with the *Presbyterian* Principle, was also taken away, and the People restor'd to the Antient Right, authorized from the Scriptures, of Choosing and Calling their own Ministers; and this is allow'd to be a Fundamental Principle of the *Presbyterians*, that the People are empower'd to call their Ministers, and is express'd in the *Confession of the Faith* of the Church of *Scotland*, as it is now profess'd by the *Presbyterian* Church, made part of the Act of Parliament 1st *William* and *Mary*, Anno 1690, entituled, *Act establishing the Protestant Religion and the Presbyterian Church Government*.

Notwithstanding this, the Party, restless to get the Churches and Stipends into their Hands, push'd on the Design, and having concerted their Measures, apply themselves to the Parliament of *Great Britain*, and obtain'd leave, by Motion, to bring in a Bill for *Restoring the Patronages in Scotland*; which Bill being depending at the Writing of these Sheets, the Issue, God willing, shall either be added as an Appendix to this Work, or be reserv'd for a farther Account.

At the same time with this they, believing the Game all their own, move for a Bill to be brought in to Repeal the Act in *Scotland*, en-

entituled, *Act discharging the yule Vacance*; that is to Revive the Observation of *Christmas* in *Scotland*, which the People there were not at all acquainted with.

After these Things it is not to be wonder'd at, if they push at the Whole Constitution, both in *Church* and *State*; nor is it doubted but that this is in their Design: How far they shall be permitted to go on God only knows.

Mean time, *Reciting the whole Substance of the Abjuration itself*, yet withal, the Commission of the Assembly of the Church of *Scotland* being to meet, and being exceedingly alarm'd at these Proceedings, resolv'd to make a second Address to Her Majesty.

This Address contained a Declaration of the Untainted Loyalty of the Church of *Scotland*, and their steady adherence to Her Majesty's Interest, and to Her Personal Right, against the *Prétender* and all his *Adherents*; and their Resolutions to continue it, as well to Her Majesty, as to the *Protestant Succession* in the Line; humbly representing to Her Majesty, That tho' some of their Brethren might have some Scruples relating to the Conditions and Limitations of the *Successor*, which had occasion'd their earnest Desire to have the same regulated, so as that they might have no Obstruction in the Way of their taking it; and that they might with all Freedom, manifest their readiness to give
such

such assurances of their *Loyalty* as the Law directs, yet their worst Enemies could take no Advantage of them to suggest, thereby, their being *Disloyal* to Her Majesty, or *Unsteady* in the said *Succession*, as it respected the Illustrious House of *Hanover*, since the small Alteration they desired in their Application to the Parliament, had it been granted, would not have given the least Shaddow to the Suggestion of their Favouring the *Pretender*.

The Petition being presented to Her Majesty by the same Ministers as before, was receiv'd very Graciously, and Her Majesty was pleas'd to Express Her Satisfaction in the *Loyalty* of the Church of *Scotland*, in a Manner very Obliging.

But this could give no Relief to the People in *Scotland*, whose Scruples could receive no Satisfaction, or the Law any Relaxation from the favourable Answer given by the Queen, the Act being pass'd as above.

But Things ended not here; this Session was yet more fatal to the Interest of the *Presbyterian* Church; and the *High-Party* went on to get all the Hardships put upon the Establish'd Church, which they could possibly obtain in a Term of Law.

The next Step, was the Act mentioned before, to *Restore the Right of Patronages, or Presentation of Ministers to the Parish Churches*.

That this was directly Inconsistent with the Principle of the *Presbyterians*, I need not spend Time to enlarge on, they having, on several Occasions, declar'd the Right of Nameing, Choosing, and Collating to Benefices, to be in the several Persons Appointed, and Chosen for that Purpose. But the Legal Right of Presentation, and the Claim which the Church of *Scotland* has, by Solemn Stipulation of the *Union*, as well as by other Acts of Parliament, to the Presentation of their Ministers, being the present Subject of Debate, I cannot do a greater piece of Service here, in order to Open the Eyes of our People who, tho' Friends to the Church of *Scotland*, are wholly Ignorant in this Case, than by stateing the said Right from the Laws of *Scotland*, even in the same Manner as it was done before the Parliament, so that Posterity may see, over the Belly of what Right these Things were attempted, and what Injury the People of *Scotland* receive in them.

The *Lay-Patronages* in *Scotland* are so far from being the Antient Constitution, that there's scarce a Country in *Christendom* where ever they had so little Footing; so that if the *Scotch* Patrons were put to justify their Title by the old Maxim of the Canonists,

Patronum faciunt dos, edificatio, fundus,

they

they would make but a very indifferent Plea of it; for nothing is plainer in their Law, than that the Tythes were the Patrimony of that Church, as appears by *Act 10. Parl. 1. James IV.* held in 1567, and by many other Acts. It is likewise known to every one in *Scotland*, that Tythes were settled by the Legislature, and that such Endowments as have, at any Time, been made from the Rents of the Crown, requir'd the Consent of Parliament to make them good; that their Princes could alienate nothing belonging to the *Crown* without their Consent. And as to the Pope's *Canon-Law*, from whence *Patronages* proceded, it never obtain'd so far in *Scotland*, as to be much regarded. This is evident from many of their Laws, which forbid their being govern'd by any other, and from the Pragmatical Sanctions betwixt the Popes and the Kings of *Scotland*, who were always as inflexible in this Matter, if not more, than the Kings of *France*.

But be that how it will; when the Pope's Authority was abrogated, in *Scotland*, by Act of Parliament, in 1560, all Jurisdiction deriv'd from him fell with it, and his *Canon-Law* among the rest, except what part of it the People of *Scotland* retain'd for its own Equity, and its Agreeableness to their *Constitution*, which was follow'd in *Comissar's Courts*, &c.

Accordingly the Church of *Scotland*, from
the

the Beginning of the *Reformation*, declar'd against *Lay-Patronages*, and *Presentations*. This appears from the first Book of Discipline, drawn up by Order of the Government, and agreed to in the Privy-Council, *January 17. 1560*, where, in the Fourth Head, *Concerning the lawful Election of Ministers*, the Power of Election is lodg'd in the Parishoners; and in case they delay'd it 40 Days, the *Presentation* was to be in the *Superintendant* and his Council, viz. the Ministers and Elders of his Province.

In the first General Assembly of the Reformed Church of *Scotland*, held the 20th of *December 1560*, about four Months after the Pope's Authority was abolish'd, it was enacted, the 27th of the said Month, *That the Election of Ministers should be in the Publick Church, by the People, and that Notice should be given of it the Sunday preceeding*. It was the same as to the Election of *Superintendants*, as may be seen by the Form of it prefix'd to our Old Psalm Books, and in the first Book of Discipline, under the Head of the *Election of Superintendants*; and the Church requir'd, that the *Ministers*, the *Poor*, and the *Schools*, should be provided for out of the Tythes which were the Patrimony of the Kirk, as appears by the sixth Head of the first Book of Discipline, under the Title of *The Rents and Patrimony of the Church*.

In the 3d Sess. of the 4th General Assembly

bly held at *Edinburgh*, it was enacted, *Dec. 27. 1562. That the Presentation of Ministers should be in the People.* Thus Matters were stated at *Queen Mary's* Arrival from *France*, *Aug. 19, 1561.* and the 25th of that Month her Majesty declar'd, by Proclamation, That no-body, on pain of Death, should attempt Privately, or Publickly, to make an *Alteration or Innovation in the State of Religion* which she found Publickly and Universally standing at her Arrival; and she promis'd not to attempt any thing against it herself, but to settle all things with the Consent of the States. This Promise was kept no otherwise than as Popish Princes use to do with their Protestant Subjects; for that she and her Courtiers were unwilling to part with the Patronages and Patrimony of the Church which they had possess'd themselves of on the Abrogation of Popery, insomuch that the poor Ministers had little else to maintain them but the Benevolence of their Hearers; and with much ado, after many Petitions, they obtain'd a third of the Tythes, which was but indifferently paid, so little real dependance had they on Lay-Patrons.

The Church being under these Pressures, she was willing to comply as far as she could in Conscience, in order to obtain what farther Reformation was wanting, and a Redress of her Grievances. Therefore she agreed, in the Assembly of 1565, that Her Majesty, or
any

any other Patron, might present to Vacant Benefices but on Condition that they presented qualify'd Persons, and subjected them to the Examination of the Kirk, *who had the Right of Collation to the Cure, if the Patron had the Presentation to the Benefice*; otherwise, say they, the Patrons might obtrude such Persons as they pleas'd upon them. And thus, as they complain in the 6th Head of the first Book of Discipline, *the Papistical Tyranny should be only chang'd into that of the Lord and Laird*; therefore they requir'd, that the Kirk might be restored to her Liberty that she had been cruelly spoil'd of by the *Papists*.

In the second Book of Discipline, agreed on by the General Assembly of 1578, register'd by that of 1581, and order'd to be subscrib'd by all Ministers, they declare themselves, Chap. 12. thus:

The Liberty of the Election of Persons call'd to Ecclesiastical Functions, and observ'd without Interruption, so long as the Kirk was not corrupted by Antichrist, we desire to be restored and retain'd within this Realm, so that none be intruded upon any Congregation, either by the Prince, or any inferior Person, without lawful Election, and the Assent of the People over whom the Person is plac'd, as the Practice of the Apostolical and Primitive Kirk and good Order craves; and because this Order which God's Word craves, cannot stand with Patronages

nages and Presentations to Benefices, used in the Pope's Kirk, we desire all them that truly fear God, earnestly to consider, that forasmuch as the Names of Patronages and Benefices, together with the Effects thereof, have flow'd from the Pope, and the Corruption of the Canon-Law only, in so far as thereby any Person was intruded, or placed over Kirks, having Curam Animarum: And forasmuch as that manner of Proceeding hath no ground in the Word of God, but is contrary to the same, and to the said Liberty of Election, they ought not now to have place in this Light of Reformation. But as to these Patronages that have not Curam Animarum, as Chaplainries, Prebendaries, &c. founded upon Temporal Lands, Annuals, and such like, they may be reserv'd to the Antient Patrons to dispose of to Scholars and Bursars, according to Act of Parliament.

This was the Sense of the Church of Scotland, at the Reformation. We come next to shew how the matter stood in Law. The Courtiers, tho' unwilling to part with the Patronages, agreed, however, that the Power of Patrons should be restrain'd. Thus, by the 7th Act of the first Parliament of King James VI. held Anno 1567, it was Enacted, *That the Examination and Admission of Ministers be only in the Power of the Kirk; and that the Patron Present a qualify'd Person within six Months (after the Decease of the former*

former Incumbent comes to his Knowledge) to the *Superintendent* or others, having the Commission of the Kirk, otherwise the Kirk to have Power to dispose of the same to a qualified Person. The Qualifications required were, That he should agree with the *Church* in Doctrine, and the Administration of the Sacraments, according to the *Confession of Faith*, as appears by Act 6. Parliament 1. *James VI.* The Act 46. Parliament 3. of that same Prince, enjoyns, That the *Minister* should be under the Discipline of the *Kirk*, partake with her in the Sacraments, and Subscribe the Articles of Religion, and give his Oath for acknowledging the King and his Authority. And by Parliament 6. Act 68. *James VI.* they who refuse to Communicate in the Sacraments, as Administred in the *Kirk*, according to the *Confession of Faith*, or contradict the said *Confession*, are declar'd to be no Members of the *Kirk*, so long as they do so, and by the 69th Act of that same Parliament 'tis declar'd, *That there be no other Jurisdiction Ecclesiastick acknowledg'd within this Realm, than that which is, and shall be within the same Kirk, or that flows therefrom.* It is here likewise proper to observe, That by the above-mention'd Act of 1567, in case of a Failure, by the *Superintendent*, or *Commissioner* of the *Kirk* to admit a qualify'd Person, presented by the *Patron*, there lay an Appeal to the *Superintendent*,

tendant, and *Ministers* of the Province; and if they refus'd to admit the qualify'd Person, an Appeal was to be made to the General Assembly, whose Determination was to be Decisive.

But notwithstanding this Restriction on Patrons, many Abuses resulted from the Patronages by Contracts betwixt the Patrons and some Ministers, who were Guilty of dilapidating the Rents of the Benefices (without regard how their Successors shou'd live after them) for the sake of present Profit. And by the same Method, Benefices were conferr'd upon unqualify'd Persons, both by the King and other Lay-Patrons, against which a Remedy was provided by the 101st and 102d Acts of King James VIth's 7th Parliament which met *October 24. 1581.*

A further Remedy was provided by the 116th Act of his 12th Parliament, which met *June 5. 1592.* by which the Collation and Deprivation of Ministers was lodg'd in the Church, *As a Privilege granted by God to her Spiritual Office-bearers, wherein her General Assemblies were also Ratify'd and Approv'd, with all her Privileges, Liberties, and Immunities and Freedoms given and granted by his Highness, his Regents in his Name, or any of his Predecessors to the true and Holy Kirk, presently Establish'd within this Realm; and among other Privileges, all Presentations to Benefices were to be directed*

rected to the Presbyteries, with a full Power of Collation: And by the 117th Act, the Church had a Power of presenting *Jure Devoluto*, if the Patron did not present a qualify'd Person after a Vacancy of six Months: But a Reserve being made in the 116th Act, that they should receive and admit any qualify'd Person presented by his Majesty, or Lay-Patrons, the Abuse continued, and Ministers were depriv'd of their Benefices by several Patrons, to prevent which, the 169th Act of King James VIth's 13th Parliament was made.

Notwithstanding all these Provisions against the Abuse of Patronages, the General Assembly of 1596 finding, that by those Presentations many Persons were forcibly thrust into the Ministry, and upon Congregations, whose Conduct shew'd they were never call'd of God, the Assembly provided, that none shou'd seek Presentations to Benefices, *without Advice of the Presbytery, in whose Bounds they lay*, on pain of being repell'd, as *Rei Ambitus*, and they desired, that such as were Guilty of dilapidating Benefices, or of dimitting them for Favour or Money, so as they become Lay-Patronages, might be punish'd as Dilapidators.

Thus these Lay Patronages continued a Subject of Controversy betwixt Lay-Patrons and the Church, and occasioned many Abuses and much Clamour by the Courtiers against her,

her, but they cou'd not fully accomplish their Design, till after the Union of the Crowns, when the Court being at a distance from *Scotland*, and open to the constant Sollicitation of Men of other Principles, the State of Bishops was establish'd in *Scotland*, by the 2d Act of King *James VIth's* 18th Parliam. which met *July 9. 1696*, after which the Power of *Presentation* was lodg'd in the Archbishops and Bishops; but the *Patrons*, by their Interest in Parliament, had the Luck to keep their *Patronages* on Foot under several Restrictions, which did not remove the Evil that, from the Beginning, was complain'd of, and as an immediate and obvious Consequence of it, *Simony*, which is a direct Bargain betwixt the *Patron* and the *Minister* to be presented, for obtaining a Spiritual Charge in the *Church*, was too plainly Tolerated, to the great *Scandal* of *Religion*, and manifest *Decay* of *Piety* and *Learning*; for the *Patrons*, by these *Simoniackal* Contracts, inverted the *Tythes* to their own private Use, and no Minister was Presented, till he had given a Lease to his *Patron* of the *Tythes* of his Parish, in Consideration of a poor Aliment to himself and his Family: An Abuse which ought certainly to Affect all those who are truly Religious, either in the *Church* of *England*, or *Scotland*.

This occasion'd so many Abuses in Presenting

ring of Ministers, and fill'd the Church so full of unqualify'd Persons, that it was one of the principal Causes of Complaint which brought on the Civil-War, and occasioned the Abolition of Prelacy in Scotland, as may be seen by the Acts of Assembly, and Papers of State, from 1638 to 1641.

Presbytery being restor'd in a Parliament where the King was present, the Affair of *Patronage* was accommodated betwixt the King and the Church, thus: Upon a Petition from the Assembly, for the better providing of vacant Churches in his Majesty's Presentation with qualify'd Ministers, his Majesty agreed, That upon sending him a List of six Persons by the *Presbytery*, he wou'd present one of them, as appears by his Declaration, Sign'd with his own Hand at *Whitehall*, Jan. 3. 1642, and Register'd in the Books of the Assembly, the 3d of August following; and, by Act'an of the Assembly of the same Date, it appears that the *Patronages* formerly belonging to the Bishops were vested in the *Presbyteries*, by Act of Parliament, and that the like Method of the *Presbyteries* sending a List of qualify'd Persons to other Lay-Patrons, as to his Majesty was also agreed upon.

But in the Assembly of 1643, they Petitioned his Majesty, That, considering the Difficulty of obtaining a List of Six Well-qualify'd Persons for every vacant Church in his

his Majesty's Presentation, he wou'd accept a List of Three, and of any one qualify'd Person, who spoke *Irish*, for a Vacant Church in the *Highlands*.

Matters continued thus till 1649, that all these Restrictions not being found sufficient against the Abuses of *Lay-Patrons*, they were totally abolish'd by Act of Parliament.

Episcopacy and *Patronages* were restored by Acts of Parliament in King *Charles II*'s Reign, from 1662, and downwards. But when the meeting of the Estates of *Scotland* was call'd expressly in 1689, for securing the *Protestant Religion*, and the ancient Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom, to the Legality of which meeting, the Bishops did also subscribe, as appears by the 2d Act of that Meeting; and by the 13th Act, the Estates did claim, among other Things, as appears by their Declaration of Right, *That Prelacy, and the Superiority of any Office in the Church above Presbyters, is, and has been, a great and insupportable Grievance and Trouble to this Nation, and contrary to the Inclination of the Generality of the People, ever since the Reformation, (they having reform'd from Popery by Presbyters) and therefore ought to be abolish'd.*

Pursuant to the above-mention'd Article of the *Claim of Right*, and the Design of turning

ing the Meeting of Estates into a Parliament, *Prelacy* was abolish'd by the Third Act, Sess. 1. of King *William* and Queen *Mary*, July 22. 1689, and still, pursuant to the same Article, the Parliament did, by Act 2d. Sess. 2. April 25. 1690, restore the *Presbyterian* Ministers who were thrust from their Churches since January 1. 1461. And in the 5th Act of the same Session, after reciting the above-mention'd Article of the Claim of Right, as the Foundation of their Proceedings; and reciting likewise the last mention'd Act for abolishing *Prelacy*, they proceed to settle *Presbyterian* Church-Government upon the Foot of the Act of 1592, and do ratify and revive the said Act in the whole Heads thereof, except that part of it, relating to *Patronages*, which, they declare, is hereafter to be taken into Consideration. And, pursuant to this Reservation, by the 23d Act of that same Parliament, July 19, 1690, they take away the *Patrons Power of Presentation*: All which Acts were frequently ratify'd, not only by King *William*, but by Her present Majesty, since Her happy Accession to the Crown.

The Act which most immediately relates to the *Patronages* in debate, is the 6th Act of Her Majesty's Parliament, for *Securing the Protestant Religion and Presbyterian Church-Government*, pass'd Jan. 16. 1707, wherein Her Majesty, with the Advice and Consent of

of the Estates of Parliament, *ratifies, approves,*
 and FOR EVER CONFIRMS the 5th Act
 of the 1st Parliament of King *William* and
 Queen *Mary*, entituled, *An Act ratifying the*
Confession of Faith, and settling Presbyterian
Church-Government, WITH THE HAIL
 OTHER ACTS OF PARLIAMENT RE-
 LATING THERETO, IN PROSECU-
 TION OF THE DECLARATION OF
 ESTATES OF THIS KINGDOM, CON-
 TAINING THE CLAIM OF RIGHT.
 So that this 23d Act of Parliament, concern-
 ing *Patronages*, being made pursuant to the
 above-mention'd Article of the *Claim of Right*,
 and for compleating the Settlement men-
 tion'd in the said 5th Act for settling *Presby-*
terian Church-Government in the Terms of
 it, is very plainly confirm'd by the said 6th
 Act of Her Majesty's Parliament, 1707,
 which is made, and expressly declar'd to be
 a Fundamental and Essential Condition of
 the Treaty of Union.

By this Act for abolishing *Patronages*, no-
 thing but the Right of *Presentation* is taken
 from the *Patrons*, in order to settle the Call
 of Ministers upon the Foot of a Free Aposto-
 lical Election, which the Church of *Scotland*
 has always contended for, and this the *Pa-*
trons have so little cause to complain of, that
 their *Civil-Right* is put in a better Condition
 than before; for now they have a Right to

the Tythes, and are in a manner made Titulars; whereas, so long as they continued only *Patrons*, they were under a Necessity to make Contracts with the Ministers they presented, about the Right of Tythes, which now they need not do, since they themselves are the Titulars, and the Ministers only Stipendaries. This has effectually put a stop to *Simoniackal* Contracts, which have ever been the Abhorrence of all Christian Churches, and of none more than the Church of *England*, from whom, in this Matter, they differ not in Principle, as may be seen in Her 40th Canon, containing a Oath which all Intrants are obliged to take at their Institution into Benefices, viz. *That they have made no Simoniackal Payment, Contract, or Promise, directly or indirectly, by themselves, or by any Person or Persons whatsoever, for, or concerning the procuring and obtaining of this Ecclesiastical Dignity, Place, Preferment, Office, or Living, nor will, at any Time hereafter, perform, or satisfy any such kind of Payment, Contract, or Promise, made by any other without their Knowledge and Consent.*

It must be own'd, That this is a very strict Oath; but we are not to wonder, that the Church of *England* took such Precautions in a Matter of this Importance, since, in the Preamble to the Canon, She justly says, *That*
Simony

Simony is a detestable Sin, and that the Buying and Selling of Spiritual and Ecclesiastical Functions, Offices, Promotions, Dignities and Livings IS EXECRABLE BEFORE GOD.

We know 'tis us'd as an Argument for restoring *Lay-Patronages*, that the Right of presenting Ministers, is a Right of *Property*, to which the *Patrons* have as good a Title as to their Estates; and also, that there was about 33 *l.* Sterling to be paid to the *Patrons* for renouncing their Right of Presentation, which has never been paid.

Any one may see, that these are very slight Pretences to weaken or alter the *Constitution* of a *Church*, so solemnly establish'd, as a Fundamental and Unalterable Article of the Union. The fair Dealing that is Essential to the Execution of all Treaties does not admit, that, upon such weak Pretences, there shou'd be the least straitning of the Benefit intended for the Quiet and Satisfaction, as well as for the Security of the Church of *Scotland*. No Man, soberly thinking, can imagine that any one has that same Property in Presenting Ministers to Churches, as they have in their Lands, Houses, Goods and Chattels: Besides, the *Patrons* of *Scotland*, as has been observ'd already, have not the Foundation of *Patronage* required by the *Canon-Law*. The Churches of *Scotland*

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are

are not endow'd by the *Patrons*, nor out of any private Estate ; for since the Reformation, the State of the Provision of Ministers, and consequently of the *Patrons* Claims is very much alter'd. Ministers have their Stipends or Allowance for serving the Cures, out of the Tythes, which as above, is by Law accounted the *Patrimony of the Church*, and Churches are appointed to be Built and Repair'd by the Parishioners. The Ground upon which the Churches are built, the Glebes and Minister's Dwelling-Houses, are by Law taken out of the Property of the Parish ; so that it is the Church and Parish that have the Title of the *Canon-Law* to the *Patronage*, since it is the Parish who gave the *Dos Aedificatio*, and the *Fundus*.

The other Part of the Objection, that the *Patrons* have not receiv'd the 33 *l.* for Resigning their Right of Presentation can never be allow'd as a good Reason to restore that Right ; since the very Act did provide for a Distress and Execution at the Suit of the *Patrons*, against the Parish, if the said 33 *l.* was not paid, but, if this Execution has not been made Use of by the *Patrons*, 'tis their own Fault. Therefore they cannot, in Justice, pretend to have such a Relief as a Right to the Presentation, for that which has been the Consequence of their own Neglect. But further, it is wrong to pretend, that

that there was no other Price appointed by the said Act for the Right of Presentation, but the 33 *l.* above-mention'd, since there is, certainly, a much more valuable Consideration. The *Patrons*, who, before that Act, cou'd have no Right to the Tythes, but by Simony, which is execrable, and consequently not to be justify'd by any Colour of Law, have, by the very Act which deprives them of the Right of Presentation, a Title to the Tythes with the Burden only of a fair and honest Provision to be settled by the Law upon the Ministers for serving the Cure. This the *Patrons* do enjoy, and have enjoy'd for 22 Years, and by Virtue of that Title the Tythes have been convey'd from Hand to Hand.

So that those who pretend to have *Patronages* restored, because of a Delicacy in Point of Property would rob the Church of her Tythes, which is her *Patrimony*, without allowing the Calling and Ordaining of *Ministers* to remain as it is now establish'd, agreeable to the most ancient Practice of the Christian Church? They would enjoy the Purchase and the Price too?

There might be many useful Observations made from these Things; but as the Bill is in its very *Crisis*, at the Writing these Sheets, the Author cannot make such Notes on it as might otherwise be necessary.

It

It is sufficient here, that I have Stated the Right of the Church Scotland: What the Parliament may do in, or the Church of Scotland suffer under the Unhappy Circumstance above-noted, I cannot Determine here, neither have I room in this narrow Compass to Enlarge upon it.





C H A P. VII.

Containing something of a Review of the Dissenters Case in England, at the same time with the other Affairs related above: A brief State of their Circumstances previous to, and how concurrent with the present Posture they are in, bringing the same down to their now Suppress'd and Suffering Condition; something of the Causes, Errors, and Mistakes of their past Conduct: How they might have acted, and how they must behave themselves for the Future, if they expect to support their Interest as a Body in the Nation.



THE Case of the Dissenters in England has so much Connection with, and Concern in the Condition of the Church of Scotland, that however, thro' the Error of the Times, we have not that Concert and Understanding which our Brethren in Scotland, that it were to be wish'd for mutual Safety had been maintain'd; yet it is impossible to separate them in History,
or

or to make just Remarks on the State of the One without taking Notice of the Other. The same Party Oppos'd both; the same Rancor, Rage, and Persecuting Malice, possess'd their Enemies in both Parts, & with the same View. We come now to direct this Tract to the *Dissenters*. 'Tis a hard Task to know how to give Reproof, but 'tis yet a harder, and one of the hardest Tasks in Nature to know how to receive it. The first requires Prudence, and Disinterested Faithfulness; the other Modesty in a vast Quantiy, Wisdom, Obedience to Conviction, and a very great Stock of Temper, Humility, and Self-Denial, *Reprove one that has Understanding, and he will Understand*, Prov. 19. 25. None but a Man of Understanding is fit to receive Reproof.

Fools hate Instruction: *Children* could kill their Schoolmasters; and both abhorr their *best Friends*; and we know that Reproof to a Generation that think themselves so Wise as this, is a most Desperate, and almost Hopeless Attempt. But the People concern'd must remember the very History of their *Conduct* is a kind of Reproof; and he that will faithfully relate the one, must be of course concern'd in the other; for as the Prophet said of Old, *Thine own Iniquities reprove thee, and thy Backslidings condemn thee*.

It is not therefore the Author of this that takes upon him to Remark, or Animadvert upon the *Dissenters*; their own History reprehends their Follies we speak of; and a bare relation

lation of Fact is a full Reproof to the Parties concern'd: Perhaps there may lie some Objections against the Manner, and some may complain of the Openness, the Unkindness, the plainness of the Reproof: But this shall be answer'd thus; there shall lie no Objection against the Injustice, or Unreasonableness of it: Of the Truth of Fact, the Justice of the Consequences, and the Probabilities of the Mischiefs here laid down, every Reader is Judge; and the making it publick is an appeal to the World for these, and a Challenge to Gainfayers: But as to the Seasonableness, Openness, Kindness, Plainness, &c. the Author thinks it in his own Breast to judge of them, and may descend to Defend them, when the Debates about the Truth and Justice of them are over.

I presume, no *Dissenter* that has any just Concern upon his Thoughts for the Interest and Cause of the whole Body of *Dissenters*, in *England*, will Dispute the Foundation, viz. That they are to be esteem'd, at this Time, in a declining and decaying Posture. And tho' it be a little begging the Question, yet we choose to appeal to themselves, rather than enter into the publick Enquiry of the Particulars, which they ought to take for the first Evidence, that the Author of this is a Friend to, and really knows their Interest.

But that it may be understood, more perfectly, what is meant here by the Words *Decaying* and

and *Declining* of the *Dissenters* in *England*, the Reader is desired to accept of the following Explication.

1. It is not meant, That they are *decay'd* in their Numbers, or *declin'd* in their Extent.
2. Nor is it meant, That they are *decay'd* in their Quality, Wealth, or Worldly Circumstances.
3. But that the *Decay* and *Declining* of the *Dissenters* lies in the *Decay* of their *Interest*; their *Friends*; their *Ministry*; their *General Practice*, whether Religious or Politick; their *Union* and *Unanimity* among themselves; their *Knowledge* and *Pursuit* of their own *Cause*; their *Charity*, largeness of *Spirit*, taste of *Religious Matters*, and management of *Civil* — ; and it is doubted it may be said, a *decay* of their *Sanctity* of *Life*, and even of their *Morals*.

This will but too plainly appear in the following Discourse: And if laying down the Matter of Fact, making it self-evident in the Particulars, and convincing in the General, will not open the Eyes of those, for whose Conviction this is written, their Blindness will not lie at the Door of any-Body but themselves.

I hope, and believe, that the Principle of
Dissenting

Dissenting from the Church of *England* is the same as Ever; tho' 'tis manifest this Age is not able to give so good an Account of it as the last; the reason of which is manifest, and may be sum'd up thus:

The last Age of *Dissenters* was compos'd of those who, upon the Restoration of the *Church Discipline*, and the *Act of Uniformity*, Anno 1661, found themselves straightned in their Consciences, as to *Conformity*, with the Ceremonies in Worship, and Hierarchy, or Government of the *Church of England*; for it is evident, in Doctrine they do not Dissent. Upon this, after the Endeavours us'd on both Sides, at the *Savoy Conference*, (if both Sides did endeavour) for a Reconciliation, had prov'd fruitless, all those Ministers who could not comply with the Church, were turn'd out of their Livings; and finding many of the People resolv'd also not to conform; the one Part believing in their Consciences they ought not to omit the Preaching the Gospel, as they were Ministers; the other believing they ought to worship God in that Way only which they thought to be most agreeable to his reveal'd Will, and most Edifying to themselves: And both Conscientiously, and meerly Scrupling the *Church Government, Discipline, and Worship*, they joyn'd together, form'd separate Congregations, and thus began to be call'd *Dissenters*.

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How far this Original is justifiable, whether they are thereby become *Schismatics*; how they have been treated by, or have behav'd themselves to the Church, is no Part of the Business of this Discourse.

Their *Ministers* were Men known over the whole World; their general Character was own'd even by their Enemies; generally Speaking, they were Men of liberal Education; had a vast Stock of Learning; were Exemplar in Piety; Studious, Laborious, and unexceptionably Capable of Carrying on the Work they were embark'd in. We are Talking to the Reader as a *Dissenter* in this, and therefore need not enter into the Particular Characters of the Race of Men, now gone off the Stage, whose Works, *tho' they are rested from their Labour*, still follow them; and who, their Enemies being Judges, were Men worthy of a better Lot than they met with in this Place. How near the present Stock, which we are now furnish'd with, come up to those that went before them, and how qualify'd to support and carry on the Cause, and the Work they left upon their Hands shall be examin'd in its Course.

As were the Ministers, so, in a Proportion, were the People; they were Conscientious, diligent Hearers of the Word preach'd, study'd the best Gifts, encourag'd, but not worship'd

worship'd their Ministers; they follow'd the Substance, not the Sound of Preaching, they understood what they Heard, and knew how to choose their Ministers: What they heard Preach'd, they improv'd in Practice; their Families were little Churches, where the Worship of God was constantly kept up; their Children and Families were duly Instructed, and themselves, when they came to Tryal, chearfully suffer'd Persecution for the Integrity of their Hearts, abhorring to contradict, by their Practice, what they profess'd in Principle; or, by any Hypocritical Compliance, to give the World Reason to believe they had not Dissented, but upon a sincerely examin'd and meer Conscientious Scruple.

Among these, both Ministers and People, there was a joynt Concurrence in carrying on the Work of Religion; the First preach'd sound Doctrine without Jingle or Trifling; they Study'd what they Deliver'd; they preach'd their Sermons, rather than read them in the Pulpit; they spoke from the Heart to the Heart, nothing like our cold Declaiming Way, entertain'd now as a Mode, and read with a Flourish, under the ridiculous Notion of being Methodical; but what they conceiv'd by the Assistance of the Great Inspirer of his Servants, *the Holy Spirit*, they deliver'd with a becoming Gravity, a decent Fervour, an affectionate Zeal, and

a Ministerial Authority, suited to the Dignity of the Office, and the Majesty of the Work; and as a Testimony of this their practical Works, left behind them, are a living *Specimen* of what they perform'd among us: Such are the large Volumes of Divinity remaining of Dr. *Goodwin*, Dr. *Manton*, Dr. *Owen*, Dr. *Bates*, Mr. *Charnock*, Mr. *Pool*, Mr. *Clarkson*, Mr. *Baxter*, Mr. *Flavell*, Mr. *How*, and others, too many to mention.

It will be a sad Testimony of the declining State of the *Dissenters* in *England*, to examine the Race of Ministers that fill'd up the Places of those gone before; but more especially the Stock Springing up to succeed those now employ'd; and to compare them with those gone off the Stage. It is not the Design of this Work to make Personal Reflections, or Invidious Comparisons; as few as possible shall be pointed out. The Ministers, now Serving you, are too modest not to own the Fact; the Young ones Introducing, too Ignorant to have their Opinion valu'd, tho' they should Oppose it; and that Pride which leads them to think otherwise, is the very Ignorance and Defect we complain of.

To avoid entring into the odious Particulars more than is needful, to make out what is alleged, it may be proper to examine the Reason of the Difference between the Ministers of this Age and the last; and if it appears, that the Decay is a necessary Consequence

sequence of the present Management of Affairs among the *Dissenters*; and that it really can be no otherwise, there will be less need of dipping into Characters.

Three Things in the Management of the *Dissenters*, relating to their Ministers, makes it impossible they should come up to the Pitch of the last Age; and will make a farther Decay infallibly the Consequence, if they do not, in time, think of some Method to correct the Mistake, restrain the Spreading of the Mischief, and bring Learning and Preaching more in Use among them than it seems to be at present: These are,

1. The Manner of supplying the *Dissenters* with Ministers.
2. The Manner of managing them, when they come to Preach.
3. The Taste of the Hearers of what they Preach.

If all these are alter'd from what they formerly were, and that so much as to make a Decay of the Ministry unavoidable, then there will want very little Assistance to prove, that there is such a Decay, or that this Decay tends to the Ruin of the Dissenting Interest: The Author of this, designing it only for the Conviction of the Parties concern'd, in order to their speedy looking into it for Amendment, and for Recovery of the *Dissenters*

senters Interest, before it be too late, avoids many Enlargements and Illustrations, which he could bring, perhaps more to the Advantage of the Argument than to the People he is speaking to.

But in order to the Plainness and Brevity design'd, and to come directly to the Point, we desire you, the *Dissenters in and about London especially*, to examin, seriously, whether the following Account of the Supplies of Ministers be Matter of Fact or no; if you find *it is not*, every Honest Man will be Contented, and glad to see it Contradicted and Disapprov'd, and *if it be*, they will be much more glad to see you set heartily about some Method to reform it, and to restore, if possible, a Painful, Learned, Judicious, and Pious Ministry to the *Dissenters*, which alone can prevent the Destruction of their Interest, and the Return of their Posterity to the Church, from whence we think we had good Reason to withdraw.

The Supply of Ministers is to be understood Twofold; 1. By Educating and Bringing up Youth to the Work: And 2. By Calling, Removing, or Transplanting Ministers already brought up from one Place to another. The First respects the whole Body of *Dissenters in England*. The Second chiefly respects *London*, and the other Capital Cities or Towns where the Congregations are wealthy and large.

To

To begin with the Education of Ministers. It is true, and it is not lay'd as a Blame upon the *Dissenters*, that they being a Body of People under what we may call *Persecuted Circumstances*, Tolerated, indeed, by the happy Conjunction of *Circumstances* in the Government they live under, but under narrow contracted limits of the Law, and a Jealousy of their having rather too much than too little Liberty, have not the Encouragement of Preferments, Ecclesiastical Honours, and Advantages, or large Stipends and Benefices to raise their Ministers to, and thereby to prompt them to hard and laborious Study, and to the necessary Qualifications that are requisite in this Case. On the contrary, the Utmost they have before them, when they set out, is a despis'd and ejected Condition; to be Mock'd, Contemn'd, and Maltreated by the Times, and to be sure never to rise Higher than a meer Parish Priest. A Minister of a private Congregation lies under many Disadvantages which the *Church* Men are free from; he frequently, and generally lives an entire dependent upon the Benevolence of his Hearers, to whom he is, by that Means, in a Manner wholly subjected and liable always to their Peicks, Disgusts, and Cavils, whether reasonable or unreasonable; nay, sometimes to their Slanders and Reproach, by which he is expos'd to be blasted by their Breath, and, if Injur'd

has no Remedy left him as a Minister, nay, less than another Man in many Respects. This is attended with such Consequences as these:

1. That few of those who have any Thing to give their Children, or at least any Thing considerable, can entertain the Thought of Breeding them up to so Dispis'd a State as that of the Ministry.

2. That of those that are brought up to it, if any great Estate or Honour befalls them, either by Descent, or Accident, they soon grow weary of the contemptible Employment, and lay By their Books.

3. That if any Temptation of Advancement offers them, they are the sooner brought off to comply and change their Party. Tho' it is not to be doubted but, that Want of a Foundation in Principle, and a Stock of Learning to support it, has been a greater Occasion of a Defection than the Temptation of Money; of which by it self.

To descend then to the Manner of Bringing up our Young Ministers among the *Dissenters*: It is evident that at this Time, *and for some Years past*, the Ministers of the *Dissenters* are, *generally Speaking*, bred up upon Charity. This Charity is, either when any particular Person or Congregation has taken up a Youth some Way or other related to them, (and generally for the sake of their Parent) and has been at the Charge

Charge of their Education; or by what they call the *Fund*: This *Fund* is a certain Sum of Money partly collected, either Annually or Quarterly, at the *Meeting-House* Doors, prompted by the earnest Exhortation of the Ministers, and partly obtain'd by Gifts of well-dispos'd Persons, some by Yearly Allowance in their Lives, and others by Legacies at their Death.

There is not the least Design to object here against the faithful Disposition of the Money so collected, or the Care of the Ministers to whom it is generally entrusted in Applying it. The Schools that have been erected; the Methods taken for Instructing Youth; the Learning they get there, are no Part of the Complaints here made: The Masters, no question, do their best to train up, and instruct the Youth committed to them; all the Complaints I have met with of that kind, seem to me either very trivial, or ill prov'd, and very well answer'd by Mr. Sam. Palmer, (tho' since he has chang'd his Noat,) in his Reply to Mr. Samuel Westly's Letter and Defence.

But the Thing is impossible in its own Nature, the Disadvantages of private Academies, being without Publick Libraries, without Polite Conversation, without Suited Authority, with Classes to check and examine one another, and, above all, without Time given to finish the Youth in the Studies they apply to, are unavoidable. The Education to

*Samuel Palmer
answered Mr.
Samuel Westly
a black on his
Academies,
and approved
followed the
practice Mr.
Westly had set
him in composing
himself.*

be had there, is on these and several other such as can by no Means answer the End, or ever bring Mankind up to the pitch of Greatness that the former Age was arriv'd to: Here and there one, a Youth blest with an extraordinary Genius, strong Parts, and great Application, may Out-strip Others; and these, under all the Discouragements and Difficulties above, may rise to a Pitch beyond the common Rate: But, like *David's* Second Rate Worthies, they may be great; howbeit they do not come up to the Rate of the First?

Here, by the Way, is to be noted the Ignorance and Blindness of the Dissenters Enemies, in their exclaiming against their Schools and Accademies; and endeavouring to pull them down: Whereas, If they would pull the Dissenters down, their only way to do it, is to let their Accademies stand; but to pull their Accademies down, is only the way to force them to send their Youth to fitter Places. This is evident in the first Years after the Expulsion of Ministers, before the private Accademies were erected; and when their Ministers were generally Educated Abroad, from whence they came much better finish'd, than they do now, from our private Accademies; and this makes the present Set of Ministers, that are also wearing off the Stage, deserve this Character, That tho' they do not come up to the first number of Worthies, of whom mention is made, yet they go far beyond any that we see like to come after them. But

But to go back from the Schools to the Schollars; let us examin, a little, the Circumstances of the Youth, and, if possible, come at the Ground of the Defect; and a fair Appeal is made to the Age for the Truth of the Case.

A poor Widow is left Destitute, and a true Object of Pity; her Husband was a Member of such or such a Congregation; was, perhaps, a Benefactor while he liv'd; a Good Man, Well-belov'd, and deserv'd it: The Woman is the same; she is now Desolate, has a House full of Children, and no Provision made for them; wherefore, not knowing how to provide for them otherwise, she is willing to Dedicate One or Two of them to the Service of God. *By the way*, it is too unhappy a Truth, tho' a severe Sarcaſm on the Persons, that *God*, or *his Cause*, should have little of their Help, if they could live without it; and the Reason is given before; but being in this Condition, the Widow aforesaid, makes Friends to her Minister to get her Son into *the Fund*; to the Bank or *Charity-Money*, for Education of Ministers, *as before* is publickly call'd. The Congregation in Respect to the Memory of the Father, and in Compassion to the Widow, join in the Proposal, and agree to take the Children off her Hands; and all these are very good Principles in their kind. But as this relates to a Minister of God's Word, *I conceive* the Case alters; and many Things joyn to make

make this Practice very Destructive to the *Dissenters*.

First, Here is not a Word of Enquiry made into the Genius, the Capacity, or the Inclination of the Child, or Children. *The Case is not* what they are fit for, but they must not be Starved; the poor Woman must be reliev'd, perhaps the Boy is a Native Blockhead: *If any such Thing be*: Perhaps he is of a Fiery Temper, all Volatile, and not at all fit for the Work; perhaps he has had a Defect in his Speech, Stammers and Hesitates, and cannot express himself; perhaps Purbblind, Squint-Eyed, Near-sighted, or the like, yet he must be a Minister, *the Reason is in the Mother, not in the Boy*. From hence the Work of God, the *Sacred Harvest* is Labour'd, and Dress'd by the *Lame and the Halt*; and he that would not, in Times past, admit any Priest to serve at his Altar, that had any Blemish, or Natural Defect, is now serv'd with *Stammerers, Squint-Ey'd, Deaf, and almost Dumb Preachers*. What Natural Defects do we see in the Pulpit, besides those of *Memory, of Application, of Morals, and of Learning*? This I take to be the most Preposterous of all, and is an Error can never be answer'd but by being Reformed; 'tis no doubt, the proper Duty of Parents, and in this Case of the *Ministers*, also to whom this Charge is committed, to study the Capacities, the Temper, the Inclination, and the Common Gifts of their Children,

Children, in their designing them for Employment in the World; and a Child that has an Imperfection in his Speech, should no more be put to be a *Minister*, or a *Lawyer*, than they should put a *Cripple* to be a *Dancing-Master*.

Nor is this Injurious only to the Ministry, and to the Interest of the *Dissenters* in general, but it is Injurious to the Children themselves in particular: Will such be able to do the Work they are bred to? Will they ever come to any Thing? Will they get their Bread? It were much better they were made *Porters*, *Grooms*, or any lawful *Mechanick*; that way they might get their Livings; but the other is to breed them up as if on purpose to be *dispis'd Beggars*, and *Starve*. One blam'd a young Man of my Acquaintance, that had been bred a *Minister*, for leaving off his Book when a good Estate befell him; and for turning Gentleman when he was set apart to the sacred Employment of a *Minister*. His Answer was Witty, yet Grave; Course to himself, yet *Ingenuous*: *When my Father was Poor, he made me a Minister; as it was, he was wrong, and spoiled a good Porter, for I was never fit for it: When my Father grew Rich, he told me, if I could make a Minister I should be never the worse to make a Gentleman: I have Learning enough for a Long-Wig, tho' I had not for a Band: Now I can Talk and be heard; but if I had Preach'd I had been good for nothing.* The

The Neglect of examining into the Children thus put out, is the Cause why, as before, some *Purblind*, some *Stammering*, some *Hesitating* in Speech, some *Hair-Lips*, some without *Palates*, and others without *Brains*, are sent to the Schools to make Ministers. Never wonder if the very Discouragements that arise from such Natural Defects make these come out again Unfinish'd: It is too Ungrateful a Subject to enter far into the Consequences of these Things: But it must have something said to it: The Natural Infirmities above are visible, and I believe no Man will excuse the Error: It is mention'd seriously, here to recommend it to the *Dissenters*, for a Remedy, they know the Truth of it too well, the Evil is avoided by the least Inspection imaginable.

But come we next to that Defect, we call *want of Brains*; this is harder to be discover'd, and the more, because we are not willing to discover it: Affection in the Parents, and Charity in the Ministers; one can not, and the other care not to see the Child is a Fool; but it seems less excusable in the Masters, they may see it, they can see it, and they ought to see it.

If the Boy be a Clod, a meer Stupid, a Block without a Head, or if he be a Flutter, a meer Feather, the one too hard, the other too soft; one too thick, and the other too thin for a Stock of Learning; one so contracted in
the

the Head there is no room to hold it, the other so thin there's no Power to retain it, to what Purpose should Schoolmasters go to invert Nature, and force the Current? Give a Blockhead Learning, you make him a worse kind of Blockhead than he was before. Give a Fool Learning, you make him a *Rake*, a *Fop*, and at last quite a *Lunatick*. Letters, like fine Cloaths, let them be never so well made, so gay, or so rich, they will never make the Man Genteel, if he has no Shapes: *Nature* and *Art* joyn'd, make an exquisite and accomplish'd Piece, *take it in what you will*; nay, *Nature* may go far without *Art*, but *Art* without *Nature* is a *Rider* without a *Horse*, a *Bullet* without a *Gun*, an *Arrow* without a *Bow*, a *Male* without a *Female*, perfectly Useless, Impotent, and incapable to produce any Thing.

Yet this is not all; but suppose the Boy now accepted by the Fund, put to the School, and abate all the *Defects* above; allow him to be tolerably Capable, Diligent, Sober, Moral, and the like: Well; *he comes to the Accademy*, there he reads his *Logicks*, *Ethicks*, *Pneumatics*, &c. on he goes, looks a little into *Philosophy*, and at last to his *Divinity*; perhaps he takes a Proportion of all these, and by this Time he begins to write *Man*, look Abroad in the World, gets a Black Coat and a Band, and behaves well; as soon as he appears any Thing like, the *Directors* of
this

this *Charity* begin to think of Removing him, that he has Learning enough to be seen Abroad, and they prompt him to Preach; he has declaim'd a little in the Schools, he has his *A, B, C*, of *Theologicks*, with some Study he can prepare a formal Theme, set a Text on the Top of it, and, when it is written down, can read it in a Pulpit; and this he calls *Preaching*! Then he is a Minister, he has no more Business at the Schools. And thus, as he was hastily put in, so he is hastily thrust out, to make room for some other of equal Capacity and Circumstances.

Well; now we find him Abroad, poor Gentleman! his Circumstances are hard; his Mother, instead of being able to keep him, is, perhaps, by this Time grown Old, and expects he should keep her, or at least some of his Younger Sisters: He is so far from having Money to buy Books, that he wants Money to buy Bread; he has no Time to stay at Home to study, for he must go Abroad to get a Dinner.

The first Thing the unhappy Creature has to do, is to make his Acquaintance among the Ministers; in Order to this, he goes every *Tuesday* to *Salters-Hall*, from thence he waits upon them to *Hamlin's Coffee-House*, where he sits at the Feet of *Gamaliel* and, unless some better Chance offers, he Dines upon a Dish of *Coffee*, while others go to Dinner where Invitation directs.

Having

Having thus brought him Abroad, his Work is to ply in his Habit, as the Labourer, or the Porter with the Knot and the Ticket at the Corner of the Streets. Here, if any Minister is Sick, or wants to go into the Country, or upon any Occasion cannot preach, he may be supply'd at the shortest Warning, for the Young Men have their Tools always about them, *viz.* a *Pocket-Bible*, and a Set of *Sermons* ready written, which they Preach (Read) over in Course, and then begin again, and so a few of the first Week's Study serves them for several Years. The Truth of which is so plain and self-evident, that it needs no farther Enquiry: But it calls for Lamentation, and immediate Redress, if we expect the Interest of the *Dissenters* shou'd be supported.

The Application with which these poor despicable Things, follow this Part of the Work, is an undeniable Testimony of their necessitous *Circumstances*. The Place is a Proof of the *Fact*, there they are to be seen Daily Plying for a Pulpit, that they may get Ten Shillings to live upon; and so much are they to be pity'd, so much do many of them deserve a better Fate, that this Discourse is made really in Compassion to them, and, if possible, to recommend it to a Remedy, not really to expose them. Then, as to the Advantage made this Way, many do not meet with a favourable Hit once a Month, and, after the most diligent Attendance, are oblig'd
to

to live on the last happy Relief till they come to the utmost Extremity.

It is needless to touch here at the Performance of these Gentlemen; some of them perform to Admiration, considering the Circumstances; and 'tis left to the Judgment of all those that know what is requisite to finish and compleat a Man of Learning, how long Time ought, in Reason, to be allow'd to set a Man out to preach in this Age, *and more especially* to determine, if it can be possible they should be good for much as they are equipp'd.

And are these the Measures the *Dissenters* take to supply their Ministry? Is this Method likely to produce a Succession fit to follow, and to finish the Work begun by the Race that went before them? Was Dr. Owen, Dr. Manton, Mr. Charnock, Mr. Clarkson, &c. brought up with such a Froth of Letters, as this? Did they get their *Theologicks*, and *Metaphysicks* in a Year or Two's Reading? Were they furnish'd with a Body of Divinity, suitable to the Work they did, and the Proofs they have left behind them, in being Three Years at an Accademy?

After the long Expectation, and Miserable Porter-like waiting Above, it is now and then the Fate of one of these Gentlemen to get some Charge, to get into some Subsistence?

The first Step, is generally to joyn Three or Four together, and set up some *Evening-Lecture*, and, once a Month, to beg their Bread
of

of the Hearers as an Alms: Were it a Subscription the Exception would be much less, for the Work is laudable and proper: Why should they be asham'd of it: But to get the Help of Others to flourish on their Capacity and Undertaking, and, perhaps, without much Merit, to perswade the People to Contribute: How Scandalous? How Mean? And how does it Eclipse the *Dissenters*, nay, even the Preaching of the Gospel.

But be that as it will: Let their Study, their Conduct, their Performance, be look'd into, how has it dwindled in a few Years? How has the Preaching sunk among the *Dissenters*, into all manner of Coldness, Meanness, Dull Fashionable Reading, &c. instead of Preaching? But this shall be consider'd farther by and by.

2. The Second Head of Supplying the *Dissenters* with Ministers, respects the Transplanting and Removing Ministers from one Congregation to another. This, in *Scotland*, is one of the most solemn Things which their Church Judicatories exercise their Authority about, and is never done Judicially; but where *evident Utility* is the Great and Only Consideration; And in this Case it is very frequent to remove a Minister from a large Stipend, a pleasant Dwelling, advantageously Seated near to the Capital, or perhaps in a Great Town, to a less Stipend, in Barren Mountains, and the remotest Corners of

the Nation: In this Case the *Ministers*, contented to be sacrific'd for the Good of the whole Body, chearfully forsake their comfortable Dwellings and sufficient Maintenance to comply with it, testifying, that they do not expect their Reward on Earth, or follow *Jesus Christ* for the Loaves and the Fishes.

But to examine our Removing of *Ministers*, would be to confess the Methods and Motions, are just contrary; 1. The City of *London*, which, without Reflecting in the least upon some of the *Ministers*, eminent in their *Practise and Capacities*, is (taking one with another, and Judging in Proportion) much worse supply'd with *Ministers* than the Country: The Reasons of which may be examin'd hereafter. 2. SOME of the best *Ministers* the City now have, are such as they have, by a Sort of Importunate Violence, ravish'd the Country of, and drawn from the remotest Parts; whether Injuri-ously, or by the Consent of the People there, may also, in Time, come to be enquir'd; and most of these are, truly, Great Men: But it seems very unhappy, that of all the Gentlemen Educated, in or near *London*, by the Funds, &c. as above, there are very few of whom it would not be call'd *Flattery* to name them among those we call *Eminent*, except for something better left out than mention'd.

This

This Method of Calling *Ministers* out of the Country has hitherto been practis'd in such a Magisterial Way, and such a Sort of a positive Sending for them, as if they were not to be deny'd. It has been founded upon a Presumption, That the Living at *London*, the Reputation of being call'd thither, and the Encrease of Stipend or Maintenance, are Arguments sufficient to command a *Minister*; or at least are so equivalent to a Command, that they are not to be resisted: And two Things are especially prov'd by this; 1. All that is said before of the Insufficiency of our *London* Education, and the Country being better supply'd is acknowledg'd, since, no sooner is any considerable Place vacant in *London*, but the Country is plunder'd to supply the Want; while, at the same Time, the *Fund-Bred* Creatures, about *London*, lie Starving and Plying as before. 2. That neither Justice to their *Brethren*, Respect to their *Ministerial* Obligation, between Pastor and People, much less Concern for the Publick Interest of *Dissenters*, or the Capacity of Doing Good seems to be regarded in the People Calling.

We have, indeed, some Instances of the Conscientious Regard some *Ministers* have had to the relation between them and their Congregations, and their Sense of their being most useful to God's Church, preferring it to their being most useful to their own Families, and accordingly of their Rejecting

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*Mr. Matthew
Barry.*

the greatest Offers made to them of Removing them from their little Retirements in Remote Parts, in Order to being made Rich, Easy, and Popular, either in *London* or elsewhere: Such as these were *Mr. James Owen*, of *Shrewsbury*, *Mr. Wood*, of *Itall*, near *Berwick*, and others. I wish I could have said the like of an Eminent and most Useful Minister lately Borrow'd, *I had almost said Stolen*, from a remote Part of *England*, from a Place where we all know he was most especially useful, from a Place that cannot want him, where the Loss of him will never be repair'd, and where the Interest of the *Dissenters* is in great Danger of Breaking for Want of him; where the Wound made by Removing him will not easily, if ever, be repair'd; and this to be brought to *London*; where, without Breach of Charity, it may be said he cannot be equally useful to others, (whatever he may be to himself) as he was before. I will not go about to say or suggest that either the Pomp of the World, the Fame of being known, or the Honour of having a Name spread, could be any Motive to him to come; but sure the People must have a mean Opinion of that Minister to suppose those Things would tempt him: The Merit of that Gentleman is Eminent for that unfashionable Particular, *viz.* That he has always sought more to excell than to be talk'd of, more the Service

Service than the Fame, and this has built him a real Fame which shall never decay; it is known that with Reluctance he yielded to the Importunities of those who invited him hither; but the Reluctance with which his People parted with him is not to be express'd, any more than the Injury done to the *Dissenting Interest* in that Part of the Island, which it is no Arrogance to say no Man is better, and few are so well able to support. The People who have him, and think he is their Blessing here, had need think well of making a mighty Improvement under his *Ministry*, lest they have to answer for their Sterillity under so great an Operation, and for the Robbing those of him that would have turn'd his Labours with them to a much better Account.

But, to descend from the Religious Part, it is strange to me to observe the Justice of this Matter, not so much referring to the present Case, as to state from it both the Evil of the Practice, and the Injury done by it to themselves; and therefore, without making *Panegyricks* on the Christian Conduct of those *Ministers*, who have chosen rather to continue in their private Conditions, in meer Zeal to their Work, Affection to their People, and Sense of their Duty, whose Praise is of God, and their Reward in Eternity, let the Wisdom, the Integrity, the Christianity, and the Honesty of the People

thus Calling them, bear a little Reflection. What have the *London Dissenters* to Offer in Justification of their Calling *Ministers* from their respective Charges in the Country, in the Manner they now practise it, or to make their Calling them thus, consistent with Religion or common Justice? All the Arguments we yet find made Use of, I mean on the Side of those who call them, Consist in the Advance of Sallary, or Stipend, Popularity, and the Ease and Advantages of Living here: These are of a Kind so base, that I will not suggest they are of the least Weight with a *Minister of the Gospel*, whose Heart is in his Work; to whom Usefulness to Souls, and Propagating the Knowledge of God, and the Kingdom of our Lord *Jesus Christ* ought to be, and I hope is among most of the *Dissenting Ministers*, not the supreme View alone, but the only View they respect in the Planting or Scituating themselves in the World.

This Mammon of Unrighteousness we find happily rejected on many Occasions, yet it is not without too frequent Success; but at best the Principle by which it is offer'd is Scandalous in all; as if Coveting our Neighbour's Wife or our Neighbour's Minister were not equally forbidden in the Tenth Commandment, in which we acknowledge we are forbidden all Inordinate Motions to any Thing that is our Neighbour's. Vide *Assemb. Chateck. Pa. 16.*

In this fatal Way of bringing the Country *Ministers* from their Charge, or Congregations, such a Variety of Irregular Practices follow, that I hardly know where to begin. How they rather send for them up than invite them, presuming on the Force of their meaner Argument, *viz.* Interest, as before; how they satisfy themselves with the Knowledge of the Person upon Out-sides, and that worst Giver of Characters, *Common Fame*; oftentimes not Descending to a more particular Taste of his Ability; perhaps the Person is of unquestion'd Capacity, of a superior Character, and of a Merit not to admit any Debate, as in the late eminent Instance; yet the best *Minister*, the best *Preacher*, the best *Commentator* may not be so particularly suited to the Taste or Acceptance of this or that particular People as another; and in this Variety consists much Advantage to both *Minister* and People; whereas without it, few Congregations could be serv'd to their Satisfaction, and sometimes many Churches would clash for the same *Minister*; and it seems a Token of very much Indifference to choose a Man by Report, and like him because other Men lik'd him. *Then as to the Justice of it in the next Place.*

Let us ask what Enquiry has been made in such Cases, whether or no his People were willing to part with him, Robbing a Congregation, nay, perhaps a whole County of a *Minister*, not only exceedingly useful among

*alluding
to the removal
of that King
from the seat
to the highway.*

them, but belov'd by them, a Man valu'd by all Ranks of Men, *Church* or *Dissenter*, if this never weigh'd with them, if the *Honesty*, the *Justice*, and the *Seasonableness* of this was never concerted or debated among them, what shall be said for it? They hear of a famous Man, they have read his Labours in Print; and upon this they call him at a Venture: Tho' perhaps had they read more practically, they would have found their very Behaviour condemn'd, even by himself.

In the next Place: Do they make Enquiry into the Obligation such a *Minister* may be under to the People whom he serves in his *Ministerial Relation*? This leaves them, really, under gross Reflections, as having bury'd all Regard to mutual Engagement, and not a little shews a mean Opinion of the *Minister* they call, as if he could have dispenc'd with those *Relative Obligations*, and as if the great Consideration of *Usefulness* had no Weight with him; or, which is worse, as if they would all be born down by the Bait of a large Income; the Vanity of being Caress'd by the Rich Inhabitants of the Capital City, and the Pleasure of Coming up to *London*.

These Things leave abundant Room for the Good People in the Country to reflect on the Justice, Honesty, and Charity of their *London Brethren*: But not at all to thank them for their Kindness to them;
concluding

concluding, that they have not enough regarded in it that Golden-Rule, among some other, *Quod tibi fieri non Vis Alteri ne Feceris.*

What shall we say next to the wretched Change among the Lay-part of the *Dissenters*, not only that which they are already come into, but more especially that which they are every Day farther running into, as to the Management of their Ministers, when Chosen. *Difficile est Satyram non Scribere:* How is the Energy of the Spirit of God, which accompany'd the last Age, succeeded by Formality, Gaiety, empty Un-meaning Sound and Jingle of Words, without the Power and Force, either of Religion or of true Eloquence, and how are the People pleas'd with it? Metaphors without Meaning; Stile without Cadence; Letters without Learning; and which is worst of all, Divinity without Gospel? How does the Excellency of the Young Race consist in *Pulpit Gesture*, Powder'd *Hair*, Clean *Gloves*, and a Levity of Behaviour, which I care not to mention? And how do those Things recommend them to us? Are these the Men that are God's Instruments for the Great Work of *Converting of Souls*? Are these Men prepared for the Labourious Self-denying Work of the *Ministry*? Are these the Fruits of a *Holy Devoted Soul*, Eaten up with the Zeal of God's House, and whose Heart rejoices at the Appearance
and

and Goings of the Spirit of God in his Sanctuary? And who is it spoils the young Ministers, are not the Hearers accessary?

How many a Hopeful Youth have we had, that has *set Out* well, that having come from the Accademy, tho' *alas!* *before his Time*, as *abovesaid*, with a good Stock of Modesty, some Well-meaning, a few Letters, and much room for more; has been *Ruin'd* by Flattery, *made Vain* by the Foolish Caresses of the Town; *Teiz'd* from his Book, by Feasting and Treating, till first, having no Time to Improve himself, he goes on, and growing Conceited by the Praise of the *Ignorant*, at last thinks he needs no Improvement at all, which, had he been let alone, he had never been vain enough to believe of himself: Nor do they leave him here: The very People that Caress him are his Ruin, and do him the greatest Injury in the World, since, as they first run after him in the Lunacy of their Judgement, for the *Out-side* of his Appearance, and the Surface of his Preaching: So, for want of a serious Taste, a Sence of the Fundamental of the Pulpit Gift; or which is yet worse, upon the appearing of some new *Blazing-Star* above their Horizon, they all run away after the Novelty, and, forsaking the former Idol of their Fancy, they leave him as naked of Admirers, as he was at first of Merit. Thus, having made him waste the pretious Moments in which he should have Improv'd, they leave him to grow more and more Despicable;

spicable, as he comes to add Age to Emptiness, and Years to want of Judgment: How is this apparent in many Places of this Town, where you find those Meetings Empty and Void, where the same Workmen exert their Parts to the Bare-Walls, who were once the Celebrated Orators of the Town.

These Things admit many Enlargements, and it will be own'd this Book might be fill'd with Unhappy Instances of like Nature, by which the *Dissenting* Interest is divided against itself. The City set up to Starve the Country of their Provision of Ministers, and this added to the Error in Breeding up others, leaves a sad Prospect of a Famine at last; a Thing it were to be wish'd, they would take into immediate Consideration, which is the true and only Design of making these Mistakes so Publick.

The next Article in this unhappy Enquiry, relating to the Management of our Ministers, when they come to Preach, of course leads us back to the Schools, from whence they Issue Out: It is too Ungrateful to Repeat what has been said before of the unfinish'd Condition which they come Abroad in. Hitherto it has been alledg'd, only to be want of Time, and I leave it there, being willing to avoid making Reflections upon the Methods of the Schools; yet, to venture a little upon the Masters, which it is hoped they will Excuse, one Thing must

must be own'd to have ill-Effects, and we find the Consequences of it every Day in our Young Ministers.

Many of the Tutors in our Accademies, *I do not say all, because I know some of another Opinion*, being careful to keep the Knowledge of the Tongues, or particularly Fond of *Phylology*, or for what other Reasons, *perhaps 'tis best not to enquire*, tie down their Pupils so exactly, and Limit them so strictly to perform every Exercise, and to have all their Readings in *Latin* or in *Greek*, that, at the End of the severest Term of Study, nay, were they to perform a Quarantine of Years in the Schools, they come out unacquainted with *English*, tho' that is the Tongue in which all their Gifts are to shine. This is an Abuse so gross, so undeniable in Fact, and so mischievous in Consequence, that it is no way to be accounted for.

'Tis evident, the great Imperfection of our Accademies is want of Conversation; this the Publick Universities enjoy; ours cannot: If a Man pores upon his Book, and despises the Advantage of Conversation, he always comes out a Pedant, a meer Scholar, rough and unfit for any thing out of the Walls of his Colledge. Conversation polishes the Gentlemen in Discourse, acquaints 'em with Men, and with Words; lets them into the Polite part of Language; gives them Stile, Accent, Delicacy, and Taste in Expression; and when they

they come to appear in *English*, they Preach as they Discourse, Easie, Free, Plain, Unaffected, and Untainted with Force, Stiffness, Formality, affected hard Words, and all the Ridiculous Parts of a Learned Pedant, which is being interpreted a *School Fop*; while, on the other Hand, from our Schools we have abundance of Instances of Men that come away Masters of Science, Criticks in the *Greek* and *Hebrew*, perfect in Languages; and perfectly Ignorant (if that Term may be allow'd) of their Mother Tongue, especially as to the Beauties of Stile, Cadence, and Politeness of Language.

The Usefulness and Excellency of the Languages is no way run down in this Observation; but Preaching the Gospel, which is the End of our Study, is done in *English*, and it seems absurd to the last Degree, that all the Time should be spent in the Languages which it is to be *Fetch'd from*, and none in the Language it is to be *Deliver'd in*. A Man would blush to Read the very Orthography of some among us, who are Masters of all the Oriental Languages, who can place their Accents right in the *Greek*, can Criticise on the *Latin*, can Point the *Hebrew*, and cannot Spell their *English*.

And why is it that some of the greatest Schollars we have had among us, that have the whole Mystery of the Gospel in their Hearts, and a Body of Divinity in their
Heads,

Heads, that have a vast Stock of Learning, a whole Ages Reading, and even a Burthen of Letters in them, yet Preach away all their Hearers, for want of the *English* Tongue, while a Jingling, Noisie Boy, that has a good Stock in his Face, and a Dysentery of the Tongue, tho' he has little or nothing in his Head, shall run away with the whole Town? It is true, the Corruption of our Taste in Hearing is to be accounted for in this; of which afterward; but one Error is in the first Concoction. It is true, the Head is the main Thing that a Tutor is to see Furnish'd; but the Tongue must be Tuned, or he'll make no Musick with the Voice; so the Hand is to be Taught to touch the Viol; but if the Strings are not in Tune, the Musick will be very harsh.

Acceptable Words, a good Diction, a Grave, yet Polite, and Easie Stile in the *English*, is a most taking and valuable Thing in a Minister, and without which his Learning cannot exert itself: This we find generally Neglected, and left wholly to Nature; and this is the Mistake spoken of.

From this Neglect comes Foppish Gaiety, Rambling *Distraction*, Stiff *Formality*, and Surfeiting Affectation in *Stile*, all of them fatal in their Degree, Unpolite, without Cadence, without Energy, or without that Easie, Free Plainness which is the Glory and Excellency of the *English* Tongue.

There

There was, some Years ago, a private Academy of the *Dissenters* not far from London, the Master or Tutor of which Read all his Lectures, gave all his Systems, whether of *Phylosophy* or *Divinity*, in *English*; had all his Declaimings, and Disertations in the *English* Tongue. And tho' the Scholars from that Place were not Distitute in the Languages, yet it is observ'd of them, they were by this made Masters of the *English* Tongue, and more of them excelled in that Particular, than of any School at that Time. Here were produced of Ministers, Mr. *Timothy Cruso*, Mr. *Hannot*, of *Tarmouth*, Mr. *Nathaniel Taylor*, Mr. *Owen*, and several Others; and of another kind, Poets *Sam. Wesley*, *Daniel De Foe*, and two or three of your *Western* Martyrs, that, had they liv'd, would have been extraordinary Men of that kind, viz. *Kitt. Battersby*, *Young Jenkins*, *Hewlin*, and many more.

Mr. Martineau.

But to leave this as a School Defect, we are now to bring the finish'd Pupil into the World; and here we find a very unhappy Error in the first Decoction of that kind, viz. *His Examination*, or passing *Tryals*: And it is left to the just Reflection of the Ministers, whether severer *Tryals* as well as better *Testimonials* are not absolutely Necessary, before they admit Young Probationers to the Pulpit, unless they resolve at once to Depreciate the very Office, and reduce us to a necessary and just Contempt of the Ministry for the sake of the Ministers.

This

This is but a hint; I know it has its Difficulties, nor are they easie to be surmounted, and therefore the less is said to it: But one Thing cannot be omitted, and which must be acknowledg'd to be for the Service of the *Dissenters*, if they please to take the Hint as kindly as it is meant.

This concerns the Admitting, or giving Ordination, if we may stile it so, to Young Men coming out of *Scotland*. The State of which Case is, in short, thus:

The Conditions of Admission, and the Tryals of Ministers in *Scotland*, to the Honour of their Discipline be it said, are very severe; and the Observation of it so strict, that it is impossible for Men of a mean Degree of Study to get into a Pulpit. It is not to the Purpose to Debate here, the absolute Necessity of School Learning to a Minister, or how far the Office depends upon the Ordination of Ministers, or the Call and Efficacy of the Spirit of God, since we are speaking to those who, however they regard the Latter, do insist upon the Former; and it will appear the Mischief lies in admitting such who, pretending to both, are possess'd of neither; the Last will not admit a Tryal, but the First will, and 'tis of that Tryal which may be had that we are now speaking.

The Fact is undeniable, if a Young Student has been Idle, and Mis-spent his Hours, if he has been Impatient, and thinks the

Time

Time too long, or if Conceited of himself, and thinks he is Quallify'd, before his Superiors think so; if he has Misbehav'd, and, perhaps, been Extruded the College, or Incurr'd Scandal, and therefore not admitted to Preach, he has no more to do but come away to *England*: Here he either gets Admittance, upon slight Examination, or runs into the Office without any other Admittance, than that of the next Minister that will lend him a Pulpit: It will be needless to give Instances of a Thing that we are all sensible of, and which the People in *Scotland* wonder at; the Business rather is how to remedy the Evil, and prevent the Consequences of it; and this is so easie, that nothing but a total Neglect of it can be answer'd, in the Case.

Would the *Dissenters* suffer no *Scotsman* to Preach among them, unless he shew'd Authentic Documents of his having been admitted to the Ministry in *Scotland*; and would they admit none to the Office but such as, besides their Examination, brought Certificates from the Principal, and Professor of Divinity in the College where they Study'd, and from the *Presbytery* of the Bounds where they last Liv'd; the first signifying their Studies, and Proficiency in the Schools, and the latter testifying their being free from Scandal, and of a good Character: If this short Method were observ'd, 1. *Scotland*

Y

would

would be oblig'd to you, for that their Scoundrels and Idle Ones would not Con-temn their Discipline, in hopes of being admitted in *England*: They must then Study hard, Apply close, and Live soberly, or they must not expect to be receiv'd: And (2) you would cease to be the Sink of their Filth, the Receiver of their Refusings, and the Refuge of the Meanest and most Uncapable of their Ministry.

It comes next to speak of the Behaviour of these Young Proficient Gentlemen, when they get into the Office: How they have taken up a Method of Preaching quite different from what was the Antient Practice; how, under pretence of Cadence and Regularity, which yet they want, they have brought the whole Work to a cold declaiming way of Delivery, the very same we formerly blamed and despised Others for; how, from a Cautious and Conceal'd using of Notes, as our Ministers were wont to use them, they are come to an Avow'd, Open, and General *Sermon-Reading*; the meer Effect of Sloth, and without which they could not make one Sermon serve many Months, nay Years, upon every Occasional Preaching: So, taking away the Occasion of Study, as the great Drudgery of the Office, and this not only is too much the Practice, but it is now pretended a Minister ought not to Preach without them.

What is become of the Zeal, the Affection,
and

and the Warmth of the Pulpit, which the past Age were Witnesses of, is hard to determine: As to our Modern Preachers they Despise it all, they call it, *the Mechanism of the Spirit*; and resolve it into a kind of Priest-Craft, by which they say Preachers could raise and let fall their Hearers as they had Occasion; and now they are to tell you, that the Spirit of God, being to Work by the Word, there is no Occasion for the Minister to mind how he Delivers it, so that the Matter be good. From this coldness in Preaching, as a most Natural Consequence follows careless Hearing, Sleeping, all manner of Indecency, and at last a Contempt of Ordinances, and bringing them down to a meer Course of Things, which are discharg'd in the Duty of Attendance without any regard to the Manner: But of this part by it self.

From this coldness in Preaching and Formality in one part of the Work proceeds a proportion'd Neglect of the other great Work of a Minister, I mean *Prayer*: However we Object against Forms, this is now become as Formal as that we Object against; nay, some may be named who Write them down, and Read their *Prayers* as they do their *Sermons*: *Sacraments* are administer'd with unusual want of Solemnity; and they are so shie of attempting to act the Affections, that they seem to perform all the Worship, and admi-

nister all the Ordinances of the Gospel, as if the Affections were not in the least concern'd in them.

In the Pulpit all manner of Gesture is observ'd, that may render them acceptable to the Eyes, not the Ears of their Hearers; and the new Fashion'd young Ministers Powder and Dress, as if the Pulpit was the Stage, and they came there to make their Address to the Ladies. God Almighty is spoken to rather with Good Manners, than with Reverence; and they rather approach him with *Air* and *Mein*, than with *Fear* and *Trembling*: Prayer with them is the Coldest, the Dullest, the most Unaffected Thing in the World; and, indeed, they have most effectually secured themselves from the Scandal of designing to Work upon the Affections with it: There is, indeed, one kind of *Mechanism* left among them, and which they take Care not to fail of, *viz.* That as some Preachers move one Sence, some another; some raise the Passion of *Fear*; some of *Love*; some Excite *Zeal*; some *Charity*, these most effectually raise a mighty Propensity to Sleep, and act beyond an Opiate upon the Faculty of Drowsiness, Charming their Auditory into *Silver Slumbers*, which, according to a certain Modern Orator, *Are Golden Mercies*.

From their Pulpit Labours, and the Drudgery of the Day, you may view them in their Week, they are of too much Business

ness to be much at Home, except on *Saturday*, and then they must not be disturb'd; There, at once, is all Opportunity taken from their poor Hearers to Visit, or Consult with their *Ministers* whatever their Cases, either of *Conscience* or otherwise, may be, for they are hardly ever to be found; and as to Visiting their Hearers, if they are Rich, they grow not only Visitors but Companions: But if Poor, it is not hard to name some Young *Ministers* in this City, who have not been to visit some of the Poor, or Antient Members of their Congregations in several Years.

The Vanity in Garb, the Exorbitance of Living, the Gaiety in their Families, together with their Haughty instead of Humble Behaviour, of these Young New Advanc'd Gentlemen in their Conversation I omit here, not that they do not administer abundant Matter of Reflection, and a sad Prospect for the Time to come, but because this Attempt is meant rather to Correct the Foundation Evil, and Removing the Causes, than to attack the *Vice* of our Young Clergy, which, being rooted in their Ignorance and Want of Learning, lies too deep to be pull'd out; for *Conceit* and *Affectation* is the certain Produce of a little Learning, as *Humility* is of a great deal.

3. The Third and Last Article laid down, in the Beginning of this Essay, is the Taste of our People in Hearing; and, indeed, this

suffers equal Defection: Whether the wo-ful Degeneracy of the *Ministry* proceeds from that of the People, or this Error of the People from the *Ministry*, shall not be enquir'd here, least the Evil should appear Reciprocal, and they be found like Men in a Plague, mutually to Infect one another.

That our Taste of Preaching is alter'd with the Preaching, is evident from the People we run after, and the People we run from; from our Manner of Hearing, and Manner of Living under the Operation of a *Protestant Gospel Ministry*.

In the Choice of our Preachers, what Instances have we to determine us by, when, as before is noted, a Half-bred Youth that makes, as we call it, a good Figure in the Pulpit, one of Mr. *Burgess's* Furbelo'd Preachers that has a little Musick upon his Tongue, and Reads handsomely, that Talks apace, has the Gift of the Gob, and pleases our Fancy, shall run away with the whole Town, and draw Crowds of Hearers after him, while the Aged, the Learn'd, the Serious, the Painful Preachers that, as before, have the Essence of the Work in their Heads, and the Success of it upon their Hearts, preach to the bare Walls, and see their Auditors Daily forsake them. This might be illustrated by Names of Men: But that this Paper avoids Enttring into Personal Characters, any Man may be satisfy'd of this
that

that has seen, or heard of the Treatment of many of our antient Ministers lately Dead, &c. and set them against others, whom we need not go far to name. Next we may observe the Conviction which this Error brings along with it, and how Time makes them asham'd of their Folly: And this appears in their Abandoning again those they have once been so fond of; after their glutted Fancy, tir'd with the Novelty, has Nauseated those they have Idoliz'd before; this is seen in many Instances now among us, which also I forbear to name.

These are so many Testimonies, that the Taste of the Town, debauch'd by Novelty, is corrupted and carry'd away with a Stream; that the true *Gospel Principle* of Hearing the Word without Respect of Persons, is lost from among us; and the Times seem to have just such a Turn as is said of the *Popish Ages in England*, in former Days, viz. That in the *Saxon Times* they had *Wooden Chalice*s and *Golden Priests*, but afterwards, as the Times mended, and the Nation grew Rich, they had *Golden Chalice*s, and then they had *Wooden Priests*. This, indeed, is the Disaster of the *Toleration*; as all Sweet Things have their Bitter in themselves: Before the *Toleration* we had a *Wooden People* and *Golden Ministers*; since we got Ease and Wealth, we have a *Golden People*, but God knows we are in a fair Way to have a *Wooden Ministry*.

It has been touch'd already how our Car-
 reſſing, Courting, Treating, and Flattering
 our Young *Ministry* has been fatal to them,
 as it robs them of their Time, the Life
 Blood of their Work, as it puffs up, prompts
 their Vanity, and fills them with Conceit
 of their real Worth, when it may, perhaps,
 be little more than Imaginary: Youth can-
 not always bear Praise, nor judge when they
 ought to value it, or how much. On the
 other Hand, the Evils of the Times have re-
 quir'd a reciprocal Compliance in the *Mini-
 ſters* with the corrupt Latitudes of their Hear-
 ers, the *Occaſional Conformity* of the *Diſſenters*,
 too juſtly call'd *Hypocriſy* by their Enemies,
 has not only been practis'd by the Hearers,
 but has been, at their Requeſt, defended and
 allow'd by ſome of their *Ministers*; and thoſe
 Gentlemen have ſet themſelves up to defend
 it at the ſame Time that they profeſs'd ſta-
 ted *Non-Conformity* as a Duty; but how
 Woodenly they have done it; how they
 are now aſham'd of it; and what Ruin this
 has brought upon the *Diſſenters*, our Silence
 now acknowledges.

How evidently this *Occaſional Conformity*
 tends to, and in Poſterity reſolves in a com-
 plet Conformity, is too evident to need any
 farther Enquiry, and how directly this De-
 fection of the *Ministry* tends to both, is alſo
 very plain: It needs no Enquiry whether the
 Decay of Preaching ſhould bring a Decay

of Practise, and whether a cold *Ministry* should not produce a careless People.

Let the Manner of the *Dissenters* Conduct, under this new-fashion'd Dispensation, be but examin'd: Go to their Houses, and how is the Worship of God maintain'd there? Let it be enquir'd whether one Master of a Family in ten prays with his Family, or catechises his Children, or observes the Sabbath-Day, of that great Number who practis'd all these within these Twenty Years past: And where are their Reprovers? Where the *Minister* that examines them about it? or reproves them for Want of it?

In former Days, in our *Meetings*, was another Face of Hearing; some Writing; some Following the *Minister* with their Bibles; all Attentive: Now Writing is universally laid aside, as out of Fashion; and for the Bible, take this Instance, an eminent *Minister* coming to preach, casually, at a certain *Meeting-House*, near *London*, and having forgotten his Bible, could not borrow one in the whole Congregation, till, at last, one poor Woman, by Accident, came in with a Bible. So useless it is to examine or enquire into what the *Minister* says, or to minute down his Proofs, in Order to review and reflect on what has been heard.

The Word of God is an inestimable Treasure, but we have it now in such Earthen Vessels, that, really, the Treasure is made a
Jest

Jest for the sake of the Vessel, and the Vessel makes a Jest of the Treasure and of himself also, till they make the Sacrifice an Abomination, and make the People abhor the Offering of the Lord.

The Matters of Fact being thus touch'd at, and, indeed, but touch'd at, for God knows there is but too much Room for Enlargements, it remains to enquire into the Consequences of these Things, and these are but too visible;

1. The Decay of Religion in general.
2. The Decay of the *Dissenting* Interest in particular.

Let no Man wonder at the Number of Youth, bred among the *Dissenters* for the Ministry, that go over to the *Church of England*; want of Learning will always be attended with want of Principle; want of a Foundation will always betray Men to Temptation; Foppish Pride, Unstay'd and Unsteady Temper, Native Levity, not ballanc'd by Judgment, not supported by a Fund of Knowledge, will always nourish Prejudice, and covet Changes.

The Young Men begin under two insuperable Articles of Necessity, Want of *Learning*, and want of *Bread*; they have an Accomplishment most Inconsistent and Unsuitable to both, a Stock of Pride, and a Stock of

Thopkides Dorrington
Jamuel Wesley
Samuel Palmer

Robertson
Wesley

of Resentment: Let any one tell us from which of these should they be furnish'd to resist Temptation: Their want of Bread cannot assist them to refuse a good Living; want of Learning can never fail to prompt them to go over to a People, with whom it can better be pass'd over, and who have Country Livings to supply, where it cannot be discover'd; Pride will never prompt a Man to be a *Dissenter*, where there is so little Prospect of Encouragement, and so little Room to Rise. Resentment is gratify'd to the highest Degree; for, by going over, they have a full Occasion to fall upon them that us'd them, as they think, with so much Inequality, and treated them so haughtily.

Here begins the ill Blood that breaks out as soon as they go off; and from hence it is that we have nothing so bitter written, and said against the *Dissenters* as by such of their young *Ministers*, who have, for some Time, been bred, *Anglice* starv'd, among them, and have gone off to the *Church*, such as *M—*; *N—*; *R—*; *H—*; *Wesley*; *Robertson*; *Hasset*; *Palmer*; and others.

It may not be unworthy here of the *Dissenters* Consideration in General, whether they have not, on all Occasions, treated *not these People only*, but all those that have been willing, forward, and able too to serve their
Interest

Interest, with too much Slight and Neglect; and some that have merited better from them with *Contempt* and *unjust Reproach*: How this should end in any Thing, but in Turning the Hands against them that would otherwise have been employ'd for them, is hard to imagine: Till they think fit to alter this, they cannot expect to have many Defenders, or ever to want furious Enemies: Nature is born with Resentment, and when Men that serve Faithfully, and hazard themselves Zealously, meet with Reproaches for Rewards, and haughty contemptible Carriage instead of Countenance and Encouragement; Passion will prevail to set them against the People they otherwise would adhere to; every Man cannot serve and starve for them: Let those that think this Hint unjust, look back on Mr. *Delaune*; let them ask Mr. *Wessley* why he conform'd; let them enquire of poor *Tutchin's* Friends, and look upon the Circumstances of his Widow and Family; let them enquire of the Fate of *Harry Care*, and how Want of being supported forc'd him to submit to their Enemies; and let them look round them for other Objects of like Kind without Number.

If the *Dissenters* think their Cause needs no Champions, their Cause needs no Advocates, their Defence calls for no Assistance, they would do well to think again; it is much more certain that it wants no Enemies,

*Delaune, uncle a
dyfence of nonconformity
in which he was
imprisoned.*

*Wessley was educated
at Winton? Winton's
he was imprisoned. He was
taken to the celebrated
John Wesley. See
note at Wesley's
Puzzled and
various other heads.*

*Tutchin suffered
understand the
2d. for his writings
in behalf of protestants
- 14m 11.*

mies. On the other Hand, Detecting the Forgeries of their Adversaries, Answering their innumerable Reproaches, Exposing their Attempts to ruin them, and their Attacks upon them, have, by all wise Men, and who have a true Sense of their Interest, been found to be of Service to them; and this has set their Enemies, whose Eyes are always open to it, at Work to tempt, to buy off, and by all Means possible to draw away such Helps from them; and in this they have had too much Success, the Persons having been pinch'd with severe Circumstances on one Hand; totally slighted, and neglected by the *Dissenters* on the other; and closely besieg'd with Invitations, Promises, and large Offers of Preferment and Support by the Enemy; of this too many Examples might be given to leave Room for any Objection: And it is to be doubted the Time is at Hand, when Experience will speak too plainly that this has been a great Mistake in the *Dissenters*; whether they will mend it or no, Time must inform us.

This Tract will not afford Room to be larger upon these Things, and therefore it has only touch'd the Particulars in a summary Way, without Entering Historically into the Matters of Fact; it is presum'd the Suggestions are uncontestable, and the Consequences drawn so just as to admit very little Objection. However, if any Body thinks
fit

fit to object, the Field is wide, he may begin when he pleases.

It seems to remain that the Complainer should propose what Remedy is proper in these Things. Many can find a Fault to one that can mend it, he only is a wise Reprover who Reproves for a Reformation; yet this is not difficult: The greatest Obstacle appears in Convincing the *Dissenters* of the Error. Few will believe the Mischief is true, or that such Evils are upon them. This Method is taken, private Admonitions having been in vain offer'd, to convince them of the Fact; it is for them to consider of Remedies. Those Remedies are easy: As a Man's Sin is sometimes read in his Punishment, so Remedies are directed by the Diseases.

Particularly in the Conduct of their Fund, and Breeding up their Ministers: Would they calculate their Stock, and take in no more than they can *Maintain*, they would soon see a Difference: By *maintain* is meant, 1. maintain at the Schools a compleat Time, that they might not be thrust out unfinish'd, and mount the *Pulpit* before they are fit for the Desk; and 2. maintain afterwards till they may be provided for.

Every Boy the *Blue-Coat Hospital* brings up, they put out Apprentice when they have done with him at School; when he comes out of his Time they know he cannot
Work

Work without Tools, or set up without Help, their Care is therefore not at an End till they have supply'd him to set up the Trade; and then, if he cannot Live he may Starve, he deserves no Pity.

But our Young Ministers are turn'd loose like Vagrants to seek their Fortunes. When they are something less than half taught their Business, then they are left naked without Help to compleat the rest, or act for themselves; if you would have the FUND raise Ministers, Ministers fit for the Work, Ministers that shall cleave to you, and not fly in your Faces, Ministers you shall not be asham'd of, and that will not be asham'd of you; take in about one Fifth of the Number you now take in, and fix your Number to the Strength of your Fund, not to go beyond it; when you are press'd to take a Youth, in respect to the Circumstances of his Parents or Family, (keep a Part of the Stock ready for that Work) give Ten Pounds to put him out Apprentice to a *Schoemaker* or a *Barber*, or any Thing, and reserve 20*l.* to set him up, make him any thing but a Minister, tho' it were a *Chimney-Sweep*; but to make him a Minister, you both ruin the Boy, and make him help to starve and ruin the rest.

When you have a Set Number, such as your Fund can keep, let them be kept as they should be; let them have due Inspectors
over

over their Morals and Capacities, that it may be known early, whether a Lad will best make a Minister or a Porter, an Instructor of others, or a due Member of the House of Correction; whether he is likeliest for the Pulpit or the Gallows; for such are among us, and will always be; do this, and you need not be at Charges to no Purpose, bestowing just enough to spoil them for one, and fit them for t'other.

If he has a Genius, if he applies, if he is sober, diligent and capable, nourish him, supply him with Books, and give him Time; at least Twelve Years Study should be allow'd to finish a Minister; if he shines sooner you will see the Light, and you may give him Leave to appear Abroad; if he is otherwise, if he proves a Blockhead, or a Rake, dismiss him early, that he may go to a Trade, and avoid his Destruction. When your Young Student comes Abroad, do not starve him, but allow him a competent Maintenance till he is settled and provided for: Then he would have no Need to ply as before, and solicit for Work, a thing too much below the Dignity of his Office; if he was wanted to preach, he would be found in his Study, and the longer it was before he was provided, the better he would act when he came in.

What if the Expence of this lessen'd your Number, and you bred up one to five, nay,

to Fifteen of those that now consume the Charity of your People, that ONE would be a Man, and a Minister, and would do more Good than the Fifteen. The fewer you breed up, the fewer Beggars you would have; the fewer Honest Men you would ruin; the fewer you would bring up to be starv'd; and the fewer Rennegado's you would make, to fall upon you again in their turn, and Reproach you and the whole Party with your ill Usage of them.

If 500 *l.* now raises you five Young Ministers, and you spent that 500 *l.* all upon One, that One would be a *Clarkson*, or a *Charnock*, a Bullwark to *Religion*, an Honour to the *Dissenters*, a Champion to the *Cause*; while the other Method brings five Conceited, Brain-proud Youths into the World to Disgrace the *Pulpit*, Offend the Sincere Professors of *Religion*, and afford Laughter and Mockery to your *Enemies*. Thus the Charity of your People is misapply'd, the Young Men ruin'd, the Work of the *Ministry* banter'd and expos'd, the People Fed with Froth, and *Whipt-Creatn* instead of the *Sound Milk* of the *Word*; *Religion* becomes a Jest, and the *Dissenters* will, if this be not Reform'd, be the Hissing and Scoff of the Nation: God guide you all to apply a speedy Remedy to it, or to throw up the Cause of the *Dissenters*, and leave it to the Lord of the Harvest, to send forth such Labourers as he shall choose, without your help.

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The



THE CONCLUSION.



O Conclude this Unpleasant but Necessary Part, I cannot but recommend some Things to the *Dissenters*, which shall close the Whole, and which I think greatly concerns them. *First*, That however the Service of God, in the Ministry, is under Discouragements; and among the *Dissenters* their Ministers may expect *Contempt, Reproach, Persecution*, and to be confin'd to mean *Circumstances*; yet as the Employ is honourable, and merits to be honour'd, they would not Dishonour it so much, as to think it below Breeding up those Children to it, when they have Estates to give them. It seems to me to argue great Indifferency to, and unconcernedness in the Interest of Religion, that few of our Children should be brought up to the Work of a Minister, but those who have not Bread to Eat, and must be furnish'd by the Charity of the *Dissenters*; and this in a Day when that

Charity

Charity runs so low, and is in danger of being yet lower.

It may be said, without reflecting, in the least, upon any now in the Ministry, that, did the Rich Part of the *Dissenters* breed up their Children to be Ministers, equally with the Poor, so that those Young Men, so bred up, had Subsistence of their own to depend upon, whereby all the Mischiefs touch'd at before, would be avoided, and they could take due time to furnish, and finish themselves before they ventur'd upon so awful a Work you would see a Change in your Affairs, and the Reputation of the *Dissenters* would rise in proportion; for nothing casts so great a Contempt upon any People, as a Contemptible Clergy.

I know the Spirit of God is not confin'd to study Learning, length of Time, or any Human Means. But even those who are most apt to lay stress upon the Efficiency of the Spirit, without helps of Letters, Study, and Application, will not pretend that these Helps are a Hinderance to that Spirit: But we are speaking now of the Interest, as it respects the Times, and the *Dissenters* as a Party; in which the want of these outward Means has produc'd such Mischievous Effects among us: That Breach would be heal'd, if all our Ministers were rais'd of such who had at least some Competent Subsistence to depend upon, to prevent the mean Hackneying themselves

Z 2

about

about for Bread, which takes them off from following the Outward helps of Learning, or a Retirement suited to that Application to their Work, which is absolutely necessary to its Success. And why should a Man think a Thousand Pound, if he can give it to a Son, ill-bestow'd to make him a Minister of the Gospel, while we see Ladies of much greater Fortunes think it not thrown away upon such, though they have not oftentimes any Foundation of their own ?

It were very happy for a Young Minister, if he had 50 or 60 *l. per Annum* of his own, that if he is called to a middling Stipend, he may not refuse God's Work for want of sufficient Maintenance; that Ministers may not stand at catch, and form Parties, even to Intrigues, to get into this or that Congregation; that they may not forsake their Flocks when fix'd, upon the mean Consideration of a better Salary: This would be the way to spread the Dissenting Ministry into the remotest Corners, and have the Gospel preach'd without mercenary Aims, or covetous Desires: A thousand happy Things would be the Consequence of this Practice; the Ministers of the *Dissenters* would support the Majesty of the Office, become truly Reverend, and restore the Character those of the last Age have left behind them; not that the Money would alone do it: But the many scandalous Mischiefs which now unavoidably follow,

follow, the Introduction of *Beggars* and *Alms-People* into the Ministry would be prevented most effectually by it, and the rest would follow of Course.

Nay, were this once the Practice, none but Men of Substance would be thought Competent; for the other not being able to fit themselves for the Work, for want of Stock, would not make the Attempt; or if they did, would come to nothing: And so let it be; Let *Beggars* be bred to the Ax and the Hammer; let the *Poor* be left to Labour; those that are to be set a-part for God should not be singled out of those that could not have Bread to Eat: Indeed, if it were a National Church, where Publick Provision was made for the Introduction of Ministers, and legal Stipends appointed, when they were call'd, something might be said.

But as the *Dissenters* are stated, it is quite another Case; in many Places, Preaching the Gospel is almost a Work of *Charity* to the People: How shall the Promise of our Saviour be accomplish'd, *That the Poor have the Gospel preach'd to them*, while we Invert the Sentence, and say, *By the Poor is the Gospel preached*, and while our Ministers are the Product of our Charity? What Awe, what Reverence, will these beget who Preach for Bread, in the grossest Sence, that are even bred up to Preach for *Bread*. These, truly, make *Religion* a Trade; the *Pulpit* is their Shop, and

their *Schooling* their Apprenticeship, though they often set up without Stock, or Tools to Work with.

If the *Dissenters* ever will restore their Figure in the World, it must be by restoring their Ministry; and this will never be done, while they themselves have so Contemptible an Opinion of the Ministry, that whoever can give his Son 500 l. to begin the World, will Scorn to thro' him away upon the Office; and would think it a ruin to him, to make him a Minister: Whereas, on the Contrary, a Thousand Pound is as little as can be bestowed to Set out a Man for that Work, so as to be an Honour to the Office of a Minister, or Capable of being helpful to the Interest of the *Dissenters*, and to keep himself, and that Interest, from Contempt. I am in hopes some among the *Dissenters* already see this Error, and a few there are who have attempted to mend it: We see some Honest Men Dedicating their Posterity to the Work of the Ministry, to whom they can give Honourable Maintenance; but the Number of these are Few, and the Admonition I hope is not in Vain: All Men who have any Respect for the Interest of the *Dissenters* wish they may be Supply'd with such Persons as may be an Honour to Religion, and may bear the Weight of their Interest in this World, as well as propagate the Work of the Gospel for the Next.

I hope none of the *Dissenters* will suggest from this Discourse, that I do not allow there are many very good, well finish'd, and most excellent Men among the Ministers of the *Dissenters*, altho', as on the one Side, to avoid Discouraging and Exposing some, so, on the other Side, to avoid Flattery and Panegyrick, I have left Names entirely out of this Discourse: I acknowledge the Merit of these, and shall, on all Occasions, study to do them Justice; I reverence their Persons, and put a double Value upon them, by how much I lament the Paucity of their Number; I pray that they may be encreas'd, and the *Dissenters* blest'd with such a Ministry as may preserve, encrease, and establish the Interest of true Religion and Godliness among them: But, on the other Hand, I appeal to these very Ministers for the Truth and Justice of what I have written, *viz.* Whether there is not a sad Defection among the *Dissenters* in this Case; Whether, if a Reformation be not made, their Interest must not inevitably sink; and to this End these Sheets are written, and no other. To say it exposes the *Dissenters*, is to say nothing; I am sure the Mischief will not expose them only, but ruin them; let it be amended; it will be no Reproach to them to Correct their own Mistakes: Their Enemies dread the Reformation of it, and triumph, Daily, in the Thoughts of its being impossible to be recovered,

ver'd; but, *Nil Desperandum*, I hope still they will be awaken'd to see the Mistake, and to apply the proper Antidote to the Poison.

Nor do I, in this, object against our Academies as such, or as incapable of Finishing the Youth sent thither, in their Studies, or Quallifying them for the Work of the *Ministry*, would those but allow Time for the Performance. I own the Tutors are under Discouragements, which the Circumstances of the *Dissenters* render unavoidable; but this is not the Complaint. The Want of Time, the ill Choice of the Youth, and the unhappy Crowd thrust in: Those are the Foundations of all the Evil, *of which as before*, and this is what every one will own may be remedy'd.

2. It remains now to enquire into the State of the *Dissenters*, as it now stands, and as it respects their politick Interest under the new Alteration of their Circumstances, of which the Historical Part is related in the foregoing Sheet; and what is their present Work, as their Affairs are now scituated.

Since the Writing of the foregoing Sheets, the *Occasional Bill* takes Place, and the *Dissenters*, continuing such, are universally shut out from Places, Posts of Honour, Profit, Trust, Magistracy, and the like; I know there are Ways and Means how to evade this Act, and avoid the Force of it, and a few, for a short Time, may shift and shuffle with it; of which I need say no more than this;

this ; all these Things will extend but to a few, and last those few but a little while : The main Body of the *Dissenters* in Places must expect either to quit one or the other ; and I wonder, I confess, to find it so much a Question among them which they should do ; I hope the Time is coming when it shall be no more a Question, and when Places, Profits, Preferments, and Honours, shall no more stand in Competition with Conscience, to the Ruin of the Character, Sincerity, Morals, and Interest of the *Dissenters* in this Nation. This Sincerity, and the steady Adhering to the Truth of their Principles is that which will bring Meat out of this Eater, and will effectually restore the Reputation of the *Dissenters*, make their Interest Formidable to their Enemies, Glorious to the *Protestant Churches*, and give the greatest Blow to their Enemies who have contrived this late Oppression for their Mortification that can possibly be given.

This leads me to an Observation which I think is visible from the Premises, and which, as it is yet but in Prospect, I have reserv'd for this Place, as a Conclusion to this Work, *viz.* That the Enemy aforesaid will, in the End, be entirely disappointed in their Expectations, as to the *Dissenters*, from the late Restraint laid by them upon *Occasional Conformity* : That altho' it is a very great Blow to the *Dissenter's* Interest for the present

sent, and seems to threaten them with a Breaking of their Party, Subjecting them to their Enemies, and Establishing those Enemies in the Oppressive Power they have so long labour'd to obtain over the *Dissenters*; Just the contrary shall be the Effect, to their Astonishment, and at last, to the Confusion of those Mad-men, and of their Interest in this Nation.

But the *Dissenters* must give me Leave to add one Thing, by Way of Caution, which I hope shall be back'd with Reason and Charity, viz. Always provided that the *Dissenters* shall, as I hope they will, alter their Measures, revive the Antient Federal Principles of Love, Union, and Concert among and to one another, that they open their Hands and enlarge their Principles: I mean of Charity and Bounty to those who are ready to suffer and sacrifice themselves for their Cause, and in Defence of Truth; that they neither drive their Depending Brethren from them, or discourage others from Embracing a Suffering Party and Cause.

I cannot but recommend to the *Dissenters* in *England* a certain wonderfully useful Paper, publish'd by their Enemy, the *Post-Boy*, here, and particularly the Original, exhibited by a Rank of as inveterate Enemies to the *Dissenters* as any in Her Majesty's Dominions; and this is the Representation of the Convocation in *Ireland*, publish'd in
Dublin,

Dublin, and sent over to Her Majesty. The Dissenters in England may learn from this Paper, what it is alone that will make them formidable to their Enemies, encrease their Number, and confirm their Interest. The Convocation complain heavily of the growing Numbers of the Dissenters in the North, especially of Ireland: They lament how formidable they are to the Establish'd Church, and the Necessity there is to crush and restrain them, for Fear of the Overtthrow of the Church; and the Arguments are very forcible, as it must be confess'd: They are principally drawn from the Diligence of their Ministers in Spreading their Poison, (so they call Preaching a Protestant Doctrine) the universal Harmony and Concert in all their Proceedings, one with another; their Raising great Funds to propagate their Interest, Supporting and Encouraging their own Party and Poor; and which is still worse, their Adhering to one another in Matters of Commerce, Trading with one another, and Employing one another, exclusive of the Churchmen, whereby (say they) they with too much Success, establish the Faction, that is their own Interest, and enrich themselves to such a Degree as is dangerous to the Church, &c.

I omit Repeating the rest of their Arguments, tho' many of them are of the like Kind, but the Use of it is this, that here, as in a Glass, the Dissenters in England may see what

what is their present Work, what the Duty of their Profession, relatively consider'd, is, and what alone can restore their Circumstances, *viz.* That they have their Eye a little more to the general Good of their own Body than ever yet they have had; laying aside selfish Principles, Diffidence, and Distrust of one another; and act as a Body in Concert with one another; taking proper Steps to raise and recover a Confidence in one another, and a general Concern for their Common and Universal Interest: As a strict, upright, steddy Adhering *to the Principles* of the *Dissenters* will give them a Reputation all over the World, and even with their Enemies, and will restore them to the good Opinion, *not of one another only*, but of all the World; so a strict Adhering *to the Interest* of the *Dissenters*, and Restoring a true publick Spirit among them, will raise their politick Reputation to such a Degree as it never yet could arrive to, and make them too considerable in the World, to be used as some People expect to use them. This necessarily requires some Explication, and with that I shall conclude this Discourse.

The Circumstances of the *Dissenters*, as to the late *Occasional-Bill*, has been already hinted at, and is well known to the World: What has brought them to it, is sufficiently spoken to in the foregoing Sheets: *The Question now is*, What is like to be the Consequence

quence of these Things? In which I think a Man need not search deep, but he will evidently see these Things.

1. That their Enemies expect their Ruin.
2. That if they manage rightly, the very Mischief design'd them, may yet be to their Advantage.

I am far from Defending, or Approving what is done against them; neither the Policy or the Morallity of it can be justify'd. But what shall the *Dissenters* do? What is before them? My Hints shall be short; their Way is easy; and they will all own the Reasonableness of the Proposal.

Repent and do their first Works; *Occasional Conformity* has been the Ruin of their Interest; let it now be evident to the World, that *Conscientious Nonconformity* is their true Foundation; let all that can conform, leave them, and go over to the Church. To the Churchmen I will say, take them, and much Good may they do you: We believe you have little to boast of the *Ecclesiastical Converts* you have made from the *Dissenters*: Ye dare not give us a List of them, and bid us write their Characters, and then value your selves upon them: If no better go over than are yet gone, I mean among the *Ministers* of the *Dissenters*, the *Dissenting Interest* will never feel the Loss, or the Church be able to count their Gain: Nor is there one True bred *Dissenter* to be found among the
Converts

Converts of the last Ten Years; none but the Fund-bred, Half-taught Sons of *Charity*, of whom I have spoken before, &c. such as help'd to be a Scandal to the *Dissenters*, when they were among them, and will be so to whomsoever they shall joyn; such as had not the Education of *Ministers* among the *Dissenters*, been under the unhappy Discouragements aforesaid you had never had, and if new Measures are taken by the *Dissenters*, in the Education of their *Ministers*, you will get very few more.

As to the *Dissenters*, I say, be not concern'd at these Men leaving you; let them go, and I wish many more which might be nam'd would go after them. The Remainder refin'd from this Dross, purg'd from these Dreggs, clear'd of this Scum, would shine the clearer; Preaching the Gospel would revive among us; these fashionable *Ministers*, really, know not what *Preaching the Gospel means*; they are so afraid of what was called *Cant*, that they hardly preserve the Gravity of Stile in the Pulpit, nay, they altogether shun the Energy and Force of acceptable Words, and rather study to make a fine Oration than a plain honest Sermon: So florid they would be thought to be, that they affect a Drammatick Stile in their Sermons, and bring our Play-House Phrases into the Language of the Pulpit, and this they call *Fine Preaching*, of which I shall give you the just Censure of a

very

very worthy and able Judge, Mr. *Alsop*, who even the *Dissenters* Enemies would allow had as much Wit, and as good Language, as most Men in his Time. He us'd to say, *Soft, Gay Words and Satyrical Expressions were the two Extrems of Language, and both became a Writer, but not a Preacher*; and when one told him he had heard a certain Man preach a *Fine Seomon: A Fine Sermon!* says Mr. *Alsop*, *a Sermon of the Devil; this fine Preaching will ruin the Dissenters.* Indeed, Mr. *Alsop* has prov'd too true a Prophet.

Plainness in Stile, an affectionate Delivery, Preach'd with a Concern for Souls, and with a Reverence Suitable to the Majesty of the Work. These were the Things Recommended the Gospel to the last Age; and this must still be said, tho' the Taste of this Age is Debauch'd by the Frothy *Fluttering, Empty Pulpit-Talk*, which is Cryed up for the *Fine Preaching* of the Day, as before; yet, if a true Primitive Gospel Preacher happens, from some remote Corner, to rise among us, *as One from the Dead*, and puts us in mind of the Manner of our Ancestors, the Excellency is so Intrinsick, and the Power is so Irrisistible, that it must Force our Approbation, and it does so; *but then* the People are under a Surprize; they are affected with it as a kind of Miracle, and they enquire as Men amaz'd; *just as the Jews, in another Case*; is not this such and such a Man? Does he not come out of *Devonshire*,
or

or *Wales*, or *Lancashire*, or *Scotland*? Whence had this Man these Gifts? Would God in Mercy to the *Dissenters* send among them a few such Preachers, as Dr. Owen, Mr. John Collins, Dr. Manton, Mrs. Richard, and Joseph Allen, Mr. Flavell, Dr. Gilpin, Mr. Mead, and the like, how would they restore the Taste of the Hearers of the Town, and cause us to Nauceat the Levity and Cold Declaiming of the Preachers, now rising up among us. If he hath any more Harvest to Reap in this Vineyard, he will certainly find Labourers more Suitable, and therefore we may hope he will in Time do this; but if the Present Spirit remain both among Ministers and Hearers, I fear this Dreadful Prophecie of a Deceased Minister among the *Dissenters* may take Effect in our Age, (*viz.*) That either God will remove this Generation from the Gospel, or the Gospel from this Generation.

Mat. XIX. 25.

Smite a Scorner, and the Simple will be ware, and Reproach a Man of Understanding and he will understand Knowledge.

Jamesius presbiter

F I N I S.



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Smite a Scorner, and the Simple will be ware, and Reproach a Man of Understanding and he will understand Knowledge.

Domestic subject

F I N I S.



e n a r h e H o b l e f -

We wanted the life and spirit of
Dezel condensed into a darduinio: it
It mounted us with three octaves, where
the carcase is exhibited to us in the
white wardrobe of the light and the century.
Dezel is overlaid with his Times.

Page 17

Revolut. herb all xlv. & Cxat.

Library of Congress

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Five Clergy as Refractory

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44 - Union to Scotland - Beguax & finish the know - person

CHAP. 2

Pr. of Wales landing in Scotland debated

* Sincerely form - official - minor change

New Parl. amt

the War & Peace to be made - & Preliminaries & -

Occasional but passing
CHAP. 3

СНАРЗ.

Tolerant & Engl. I charge in both as if union

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- if kind Conduct of Presbyt. to Episcopalists set

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 - *Excerpt of English people in 10th*

~~6. Indiv. of the ... Chap. 103.~~

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at Gearlock (1st Episcop people)

CHAPT. V

1771 Mr Greenfield attempt to set up w/
Engl Church at Edinburgh - proably appeal
p. 225. Excommunicate Episcop in England not
allowed to Ordain (2nd if ordnat not lawful)

232. B - solemn League & Covenant as binding - by
Logan a preacher at Sterling (w/ry Presbyter) - Mr
J. Greenfield

J. C. - two Episcop. Ministers have taken w/
duty for one of 4 Presbyter. - 9 of you (Presbyter)
may preach without naming w/ry in prayer
& some tell auditors on Th. day - not come in
Obed. to 24 Proclamation - but not by you J. C.

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w/ Jacobit - (2nd if true)

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call their own Ministers

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289 - preached w/ they conceived by influence of
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